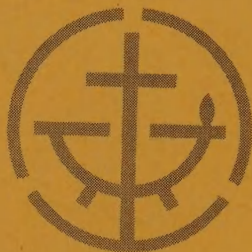


School of Theology at Claremont



10011432461



LIBRARY  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL  
OF THEOLOGY

Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
AT CLAREMONT  
California







BM  
11  
H4  
v. 28

# HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL

BOARD OF EDITORS

SHELDON H. BLANK, CHAIRMAN

ISAIAH SONNE

SAMUEL SANDMEL

ELLIS RIVKIN

ELIAS L. EPSTEIN

ABRAHAM CRONBACH, SECRETARY

VOLUME XXVIII

CINCINNATI

1957

© 1957 by  
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

---

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 25-12620

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
PRESS OF *Maurice Jacobs* INC.  
224 N. 15TH ST., PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNA.

## The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College

Volume XXVIII of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* is the first of this series to be subventioned by The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College, and is intended to serve as a memorial to Abraham and Emma Neumann, under the terms of the will of their son, Sidney Neumann of Philadelphia, who died at the age of eighty-four on February 5, 1956.

Sidney Neumann was a modest, self-effacing son of the House of Israel. A life-long member of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia, he was a loyal and devoted friend to three generations of its rabbis. Inspired in childhood by the eloquence of the dynamic personality of a member of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College, Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, Sidney Neumann always felt a special bond of gratitude to the seminary whose graduates ministered to him and to his family. Although he never visited the College, he revered its meaning in his own life and in the life of American Jewry. A bachelor with no human ties beyond the friendship of a few devoted souls, he sought in his bequest to support those aspects of American Jewish life, both in Philadelphia and elsewhere, which best exemplified the ideals and aspirations of his teacher, Rabbi Krauskopf, and which harmonized with his own concept of that which is permanent and enduring.

In his will, therefore, Sidney Neumann bequeathed the fruits of a lifetime of hard work to the institutions which he respected and loved: the congregation to which he and his parents belonged, for the building and maintenance of a chapel; the National Agricultural College (founded as the National Farm School by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Philadelphia Home for the Jewish Aged; the Jewish Publication Society of America (co-founded by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Lucien Moss Home of Philadelphia; the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia; the Hebrew Union College and the American Jewish Archives — for scholarly publications. All these, in addition to some modest bequests to many other institutions and to a number of individuals.

It is noteworthy that these generous gifts were not meant to perpetuate his own name, other than through the recitation of Kaddish for him in the Keneseth Israel Temple and the Chapel of the Hebrew Union College; Sidney Neumann contributed these large sums so that an enduring memorial to his parents might be assured.

We, of the Hebrew Union College, therefore, take pride in saluting the spirit of Sidney Neumann with this volume of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* dedicated to the memory of his parents, Abraham and Emma Neumann. *Zeker zaddik librakah*: the memory of the righteous will be a blessing.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Origin and Signification of the Biblical Term 'Hebrew' Julius Lewy, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.....	1
Jerusalem — 485 B. C. Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.....	15
Two Greek Words in the Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri Reuven Yaron, Jerusalem.....	49
Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job Harry M. Orlinsky, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, New York.....	53
The Septuagint of Isaiah 36-39 in Relation to that of 1-35, 40-66 Marshall S. Hurwitz, New York.....	75
The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Psalms Arthur Soffer, New York.....	85
Der Achtundzwanzigste Adar Ernst Bammel, Brasenose College, Oxford.....	109
Hillelites and Shammaites — a Clarification Alexander Guttman, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.....	115
The Controversial Figure of Melchizedek Jakob J. Petuchowski, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.....	127
An Investigation of the Mount of Olives in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition John Briggs Curtis, Cincinnati.....	137
The Sacred Direction in Synagogue and Church Franz Landsberger, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.....	181

## CONTENTS

The Mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England Raphael Loewe, Cambridge, England.....	205
Solomon Maimon's Philosophy of Language Samuel Atlas, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion...	253
The Prophet in Modern Hebrew Literature Jacob B. Agus, Baltimore.....	289
מכתבי יהושע העשיל שור לברוך פלונטחל Ezra Spicehandler, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.....	N



## ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICATION OF THE BIBLICAL TERM 'HEBREW'\*

JULIUS LEWY

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen!

TO SPEAK at a meeting of Orientalists and members of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis on the Origin and Signification of the term "Hebrew" may well seem superfluous, since all of us attribute to it the same meaning. In fact, nobody would venture to criticize the habit of biblical scholars and Semitists to apply the term "Hebrew" to the original language of the by far greatest part of the Old Testament. For in designating that language as Hebrew, we continue a tradition which can be traced back not only to the New Testament but even to the non-canonical Jewish literature of the second pre-Christian century. Nor would it be permissible to contest the historians' right to designate the ancient Israelites as "The Hebrews". For the modern historian who uses this adaptation of the biblical term *hā'ibrīm* as a designation of that ancient nation follows — wittingly or unwittingly — the example of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century of our era.

On the other hand, it is a matter of fact that an exact equivalent or prototype of our term "The Hebrew Language" does not occur in the Old Testament; as has been duly noted in many a "Hebrew Grammar", the language of the ancient Israelites and Jews figures in the Old Testament once as *l'šōn K'na'an* "the language of Canaan" and twice as *y'hūdūt* "Judean", "Jewish". Moreover, the historian of the Ancient Near East cannot fail to observe that the states of the ancient Israelites and Judeans were never known as "Hebrew monarchies" or the like. In fact, the abundant biblical evidence to the effect that "king of Israel" was the official title of the monarchs of the northern state — the state of the ten tribes — is borne out by con-

\*Presidential address delivered at Toronto on April 19, 1955 before the Mid-West Section of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at its sixteenth meeting which was held in conjunction with the American Oriental Society and the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society; cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature* LXXV, 1956, p. XVII. The original text of the address was left unchanged but the addition of some footnotes seemed desirable.

temporary sources as authoritative as the famous "Moabite Stone" and the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. For just as Mēša' of Moab defines his former overlord, 'Omri, as king of Israel and 'Omri's people as Israel, Shalmaneser III of Assyria refers to 'Omri's son, Ahab, as *Aḥabbu Sir'ilaia* "Ahab, the Israelite". And whenever a ruler of the smaller southern state to whom the historical books of the Bible give the title "king of Judah" happens to be mentioned in an Assyrian or Babylonian official record of the eighth, seventh, or sixth pre-Christian century, he is likewise designated as "king of Judah" or simply "the Judean".

The emergence in the intertestamentary period of the term Hebrew as a designation of the Israelites and Judeans and their ancestors, as well as their language, is therefore as surprising as it is inexplicable on the basis of the historical sources of the middle and earlier half of the first pre-Christian millennium.

In these circumstances it is natural to turn to the numerous references to the Hebrews which occur in those narratives of the Book of Exodus in which we are told that a pharaoh, who had no knowledge of Joseph, oppressed the children of Israel and refused to grant them permission to make a journey into the wilderness in order to offer there sacrifices to "Yahweh, the God of Israel". As will be recalled, the story in Exodus 5 which relates the pharaoh's refusal to grant this permission defines Yahweh not only as "the God of Israel" but also as *'lōhē hā'ibrīm* "the God of the Hebrews". Since, furthermore, the narrative in chapter 1 concerning the instructions given to the midwives speaks of Hebrew women just as, inter alia, the following legend of Moses' birth and rescue characterizes Moses as one of the infants of the Hebrews, a glance at the first chapters of the Book of Exodus seems, indeed, to indicate that the terms Hebrews and Israelites could be used indiscriminately.

Nonetheless, it cannot be taken for granted that the intertestamentary writings and the still younger sources which speak of the Hebrew language and employ the term Hebrew as an ethnical term did so under the influence of the Book of Exodus. A careful examination of the story of Moses' first action, the slaying of an Egyptian owing to which he had to leave Egypt, shows that the narrative distinguishes between Hebrews whom it describes as brothers of Moses, thus characterizing them as Israelites, and Hebrews hostile to him who seem to make common cause with the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> As I pointed

<sup>1</sup> It is worthwhile noting that the Greek version offers *τύπτοντά τινα Ἑβραίων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ* instead of the concise *makke 'iṣ 'ibrī mē'ehāw* of the Masoretic text. The Septuagint thus underlines the distinction between

out some twenty-five years ago<sup>2</sup>, this feature is well in line with the fact that the thirteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel has king Saul draw a distinction between his Israelite followers and the Hebrews whom he expects to join him in his rebellion against the oppressive Philistine overlords. It is not difficult to account for this important detail. On the one hand, because in the story of Saul's and David's attitude toward the people of Gīb'ōn, as well as upon other occasions, the Bible admits that the population of Palestine included, in addition to the Israelites and the garrisons of their Philistine overlords, still other elements whose loyalty toward the Philistines was certainly doubtful, and on the other hand, because the fourteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel actually reports that, after the first defeat of the Philistines, Saul's cause was joined not only by Israelites who had remained in hiding but also by Hebrews who, being wont to go to war with the Philistines, were in their camp also at that time.

In the light of the evidence just adduced, it appears doubtful that the first chapters of the Book of Exodus or, for that matter, the Joseph story in Genesis employ the term Hebrews as an ethnical name *ipso facto* denoting the Israelites. Hence we are now in a position to emphasize that, according to the Book of Exodus, it was Israel and not the Hebrews for whose release Moses and Aaron pleaded with the king of Egypt, and that the non-biblical source usually quoted in connection with the exodus and Israel's subsequent settlement in Palestine, the pharaoh Merneptah's hymn of victory, speaks of Israel and not of the Hebrews.

Of much greater importance is, however, the evidence furnished by the very first of the basic laws of the Book of the Covenant which Moses is said to have promulgated in the third month after the exodus from Egypt right after the proclamation of the Ten Commandments. As will be recalled, this first law of Exodus 21, which recurs in slightly modified form in Deuteronomy 15, deals with the acquisition by an Israelite of a so-called 'ēḇēḏ 'ibṛī, that is a Hebrew servant, and prescribes that, after six years of service, such a servant shall decide whether he wishes to discontinue his service and leave as a free man or whether he prefers to stay and to become a 'ēḇēḏ l'ōlām "a slave for ever".<sup>3</sup> To assume that this law concerns Israelites in the service of

Hebrews to be identified with the Israelites and those other Hebrews obviously supposed to have belonged to another ethnical group.

<sup>2</sup> See *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 30, 1927, col. 829.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Deut. 15.17. Instead of speaking of a "slave for ever" or "a perpetual slave", Ex. 21.6 characterizes the 'ēḇēḏ 'ibṛī who chooses to continue his service as a person who shall "serve his master for ever". From the viewpoint of

other Israelites proves impossible because this assumption would be contrary to the gist of those biblical laws which prevent an Israelite from selling himself into slavery and provide for capital punishment for an Israelite who steals another Israelite and sells him. Hence we are compelled to infer that the law, according to which the Hebrew servant can, after six years of service, declare his readiness to stay with his master and to become "a slave for ever", concerns not an Israelite but a non-Israelite willing to serve an Israelite. In other words, it appears that, at least in so far as the first law of the Book of the Covenant and its variant in Deuteronomy are concerned, the term Hebrew designates an "alien". The correctness of this conclusion leaps to the eye when it is recalled that the law in Leviticus 25 according to which an Israelite could not become a slave is followed by these positive statements: "And any slave, or slave-maid, whom you may acquire, you shall acquire from the nations that are round about you. You may acquire them likewise from the children of the settlers who sojourn among you and from their families who are with you, who have been begotten in your land, and they may become your property. And you may bequeath them to your children after you to hold them as property; you may make of them slaves for ever."

Since, accordingly, the biblical laws pertaining to slave-holding furnish strong evidence that, many centuries before being used as an ethnical name, the term Hebrew was an appellative noun to be rendered by "alien", it is obviously necessary to survey the biblical narratives with a view to determining whether this or a similar rendering can be regarded as adequate and exhaustive in those instances in which, in distinction from the law of Exodus 21 and Deuteronomy 15, Israelites are designated as Hebrews.

\*            \*

\*

As the Bible depicts Joseph as the first of Jacob's — or, rather, Israel's — descendants who used to be spoken of as a Hebrew, it is in order to begin this survey with the observation that the tale of his stay in the house of Potiphar and in prison certainly contains nothing to prevent us from assuming that, in the opinion of the ancient narrator, the Egyptians called Joseph "an alien man", "the alien slave" and "an alien youth". In fact, when evaluating the circumstances

the present discussion, this difference is irrelevant because, in prescribing the piercing of the servant's ear, both Ex. 21.6 and Deut. 15.17 leave no doubt about his new status: Since he failed to avail himself of his right to leave, he is henceforth a slave.

which, according to Genesis 39, led to Joseph's imprisonment, it seems more probable that the narrator had Potiphar's wife denounce the innocent Joseph as a non-Egyptian or alien rather than as a member of any particular foreign group. For in order to convince the Egyptians of the truth of her accusation and to enrage her husband against the faithful slave, the vengeful woman did not have to refer to Joseph's foreign origin in terms other than general. By the same token, the narrator is not likely to have wished to give his hearers the impression that pharaoh learned any details about Joseph's nationality when the butler told of his meeting in prison a youth from abroad whose interpretations of dreams had proved to be correct. Finally, there is hardly any cogent reason for supposing that the statement in Genesis 43, according to which the Egyptians could not eat with the Hebrews, singles out a special group of foreigners. On the contrary, it appears more natural and more in line with the habits of the Ancient Near East to assume that the narrator thinks here of non-Egyptians of whichever race.

Our impression that the early narrators who speak to us in the Joseph story used the term Hebrew in the sense of "alien" or the like is strengthened when we resume the examination of the pertinent chapters of the Book of Exodus and the First Book of Samuel. The latter uses our term not only in the afore-mentioned important passages which speak first of king Saul's hope that "the Hebrews" would join him and his Israelites and then relate the fulfillment of this hope, but also upon various occasions on which it tells us how the Philistines felt and reacted when confronted with events such as the arrival of the Ark of the Covenant in the camp of the Israelites (I Sa. 4.5 ff.), Saul's and his son's uprising (I Sa. 14.1 ff.) or David's readiness to fight on the side of the Philistines (I Sa. 29.2 f.). The first of these passages has the Philistines exclaim: "Strengthen yourselves and be men, Oh Philistines, lest you become servants to the Hebrews, as they became servants to you. Be men and fight!" This apprehensive exclamation reminds us, of course, of the fact that, according to the Book of Exodus, the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt was due to pharaoh's fear lest "the Hebrews" would become too strong and in case of war join the enemies of the Egyptians. In fact, the biblical narrator himself wishes us to compare Israel's oppression by, and servitude to, the Philistines with the oppression by the Egyptians; for he explains the apprehensiveness of the Philistines by asserting that they knew of the calamities and plagues with which Yahweh struck down the Egyptians. It is therefore purposely that in the Book of Samuel the use of the term Hebrews as designation of the Israelites is attributed



to the Philistines. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the authors of the biblical narratives were fully aware of the fact that, just as the Egyptian oppressors of an earlier period, the Philistines did not belong to the same race as the oppressed Israelites.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, it is not too daring to infer that to the authors of the biblical narratives the word "Hebrews" was an appellative term for "aliens" not enjoying the same civil rights and political status as the ruling population of the country in which they were living.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, the narrative portions of the Old Testament yield no precise information as to this inferior status of a "Hebrew" or, as we may now say, an "alien". But it is certain that his position was inferior so that the appellation "Hebrew" tended to be derogatory: as mentioned before, the biblical legislation provides for the *en slaveryment* of Hebrew men or women who, after six years of service comparable to that of a hired laborer, do not avail themselves of their right to leave their master's house.

There is no doubt that this law remained in force throughout the centuries preceding the Babylonian exile. For according to the 34th chapter of the Book of Jeremiah, the prophet cited it in 588 B. C. after the ruling classes had violated a solemn agreement that everybody should proclaim the freedom of his Hebrew slaves and actually send them away so that, to quote the Greek version which is here superior to the Masoretic text, "no person from Judah should be a slave".<sup>6</sup> As this indicates that Jeremiah's contemporaries knew full well that Hebrew meant "alien" and, especially, "resident alien", it is hardly conceivable that the subsequent use of the term as a designation of the Israelites was due to early misinterpretation of the biblical sources so far considered, all the less so since, as we recalled before, Israel's language figures in Nehemiah's memoirs as *y<sup>h</sup>hūdīt*. Hence we must now raise the question whether Genesis 14.13 might account for the intertestamentary and later use of the old appellative noun *'ihri* as an ethnical term. For Genesis 14.13 is the only further biblical passage of significance, Jonah 1.9 being of doubtful value, on the one hand, because, as was observed by Baeck<sup>7</sup>, the use of *'ihri* as designation of

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the habit of paraphrasing the ethnical name *Pelištīm* by means of the appellative ἀλλόφυλοι.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I Sa. 13.19-21 LXX.

<sup>6</sup> See Jer. 41.9 LXX in fine: πρὸς τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν ἄνδρα ἐξ 'Ιούδα. That the unusual ἀνὴρ ἐξ 'Ιούδα denotes a man who, while living within the kingdom of Judah, is not a Judean by race is suggested, inter alia, by the Greek version of Jer. 32, in which 'Ιουδαῖοι and ἄνδρες 'Ιούδα render *y<sup>h</sup>hūdīm* and 'iš *y<sup>h</sup>hūdā*.

<sup>7</sup> *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 83, 1939, pp. 66 and 78.



Jonah may well be inspired by the narrator's desire to give his tale an archaic coloring and, on the other hand, because the Greek version substitutes for 'יְהוּרִי 'אַנְוֹקֵי "I am a Hebrew" or, rather, "I am an alien" δοῦλος Κυρίου ἐγώ "I am a servant of the Lord".<sup>8</sup>

From the viewpoint of semantics we need not dwell on the verse Gen. 14.13 "And someone who had escaped came and informed Abram, the Hebrew, who had settled down beside the terebinths of Mamre, the Amorite, a kinsman of Eshkol and Aner who were allied with Abram". For since the Book of Genesis states in detail that Abram's original home had been far away from Palestine, and since we have already demonstrated that in the biblical narratives and in the biblical legislation "Hebrew" signifies "alien" and, especially, "resident alien", it is not surprising that our verse appends the expression "hā'ībrī" as an apposition to the name of the patriarch. But it is important to note that this apposition occurs here as an epithet of the patriarch whom the Israelites glorified as their ancestor and in a tale which, as I have stated upon another occasion<sup>9</sup>, explains how and why this patriarch obtained for himself and, especially, for his descendants the right to settle permanently in Palestine. For if, as one could conclude from Genesis 14, his contemporaries knew Israel's famous ancestor as "the Hebrew", later generations, who had no longer any clear idea of the original signification of the archaic term, are likely to have reasoned that they, too, were entitled to call themselves "Hebrews", all the more so since this term had the external form of those many genuine ethnical designations which terminate in the so-called gentile ending -ī.

Support for the conclusion that Abraham's epithet hā'ībrī was the object of discussion and speculation comes from the Septuagint. As a rule, the authors of the Greek version did not attempt to render the term "Hebrew" but considered it feasible to retain it in the Hellenized form Ἑβραῖος. Since the ending -αῖος is the characteristic feature of the Greek adaptations of Semitic designations of peoples or sects, it follows that the authors of the Greek version saw in the biblical word 'יְהוּרִי a term denoting the Israelites either as a people or as a religious

<sup>8</sup> As was stated by Ralph Marcus in his annotated translation of the pertinent passage of Josephus' *Archaeology* (see *The Loeb Classical Library*, Josephus, Vol. VI, p. 111) as well as by other savants, δοῦλος Κυρίου goes back to a Hebrew text offering, or supposed to offer, 'עֲבֵד Y(HWH) instead of 'יְהוּרִי. This reading was, however, unknown to Josephus or, less probably, rejected by him. Baeck, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, who does not mention Josephus' paraphrase of the passage, seems to think that the reading δοῦλος Κυρίου is due to a translator who, being anxious to interpret the term 'יְהוּרִי, deliberately substituted עֲבֵד for עֲבָרִי.

<sup>9</sup> See *Revue de l'histoire des religions* CX, 1934, pp. 59 f.

community. Hence it is remarkable that, as was repeatedly emphasized<sup>10</sup>, the Greek version of Genesis 14 attributes to *hā'ibṛī* the signification *ὁ περάτης*. Obviously, this indicates that there were, as late as the Hellenistic period, savants who defined the term as an appellative noun related to the word *'ēḫer* "what is beyond", "the opposite side".

An evaluation of the merits of this etymology is impossible without reviewing some data relating to that Ancient Oriental vocable which for many years has been thought to shed light on the origin of the biblical term "Hebrew" and which, I think, supports indirectly the conclusion that "alien", "resident alien" was its original signification. I refer, of course, to that international word found in numerous Akkadian sources from virtually all countries of the Ancient Near East in the form *ḫa-bi-ru* with the plural *ḫa-bi-ru-ū*, feminine *ḫa-bi-ra-tū*<sup>11</sup>, whereas the Egyptian sources offer, at least seemingly, the form *'āpiru*, thus agreeing with the alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra-Ugarit in which the genitive of the plural occurs in a form probably to be pronounced *'āpirīma* or *'āpirim*. Because it could reasonably be assumed that the word *ḫa-bi-ru* belonged to the same Semitic root as the biblical term *'ibṛī* and, particularly, because the first references to people designated as *ḫa-bi-ru* happened to occur in letters written by a prince of Jerusalem around 1370 B. C., it is not surprising that, as will be recalled, reputed savants defined *ḫa-bi-ru* as an ethnical name denoting either the Israelites or at least people of the same race. Fortunately, the hypotheses to this effect are now a matter of the past. When recently a group of French Assyriologists agreed to discuss the so-called *ḫabiru* problem at an international meeting and to obtain and to publish in a book prepared and edited by Jean Bottéro<sup>12</sup> the pertinent statements of the savants considered best informed on the subject, it turned out that, thanks to the very considerable increase of the source material, the earlier views as to the *ḫābirū* have been generally abandoned.<sup>13</sup> Instead, the *ḫābirū* are defined by one author as

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, J. Lewy, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 30, 1927, col. 828; *Revue de l'histoire des religions* CX, 1934, p. 35; Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, New York and London 1936, p. 9; Baeck, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> For the references see now Bottéro, *Le problème des Ḫabiru*, Paris 1954, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>12</sup> See the preceding footnote.

<sup>13</sup> In distinction from the authors who leave it open whether *ḫa-bi-ru* should be regarded as an adjective (or verbal-adjective) pronounced *ḫa-bi-ru* or rather as a participle *ḫābiru*, I insist on the correctness of the latter interpretation of the ambiguous spelling for the following reasons: (1) In all probability, a genuine Akkadian adjective *ḫabiru* would occasionally alternate with a variant *\*ḫabru*, but this form

"immigrants" or "resident aliens", by another one as "fugitives", by a third as "refugees", by a fourth as "uprooted people", by a fifth as "displaced persons" and so forth. In other words, almost everybody agrees that the term denoted "aliens". As can also be easily seen from Bottéro's summary of the contents of the various groups of pertinent documents and their interpretation by the specialists whose comments he solicited, the ample source material now available leads necessarily to the conclusion that throughout the Ancient Near East the aliens designated as *ḥābirū* were not accorded the civil rights of the ruling races.

On the other hand, there is now disagreement as to the origin and the etymology of the word *ḥa-bi-ru* with the result that the identity of its root with that of the West Semitic word for "to traverse", "to cross over" is being contested. Whereas this etymology was formerly considered self-evident, one contributor to Bottéro's book rejected it by declaring it *unthinkable* that an Old West Semitic or, as he puts it, East Canaanite term could occur in the so far earliest group of Akkadian texts in which certain individuals are designated as *ḥa-bi-ru*.<sup>14</sup> The savant who expressed this radical view seems to have forgotten that these texts, the Old Assyrian documents from the 19th century B. C. which have been unearthed in Central Anatolia<sup>15</sup>, make use of the term *ḥuzāru* "swine"<sup>16</sup> in which he sees a West Semitic loan-word, just as they employ the non-Akkadian term *kumrā* "priest" which appears subsequently as *kumrā* in the Aramaic literature and as *kōmēr* in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> We turn therefore without further discussion of

occurs in none of the sources mentioning LÚ.MEŠ *ḥa-bi-ru* or a single LÚ *ḥa-bi-ru*.

(2) Since, as a rule, the Akkadian scribes of the second millennium considered it unnecessary to indicate the length of the first vowel of the participles of the type *qātīlu*, it would be unreasonable to draw any conclusions from the fact that no text from Mari, Babylonia or Assyria offers the spelling *ḥa-a-bi-ru*. (3) As I stated in *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV, 1939, p. 604 with note 89, we are doubtless entitled to ascribe to a West Semitic participle of the type *qātīlu* (and hence also to a *qātīlu* form which passed from an Old West Semitic dialect into Akkadian) the meaning of a participium perfecti; accordingly, a term *ḥābiru* < *ābiru* may well be supposed to denote as such "one who has crossed (the frontier or the like)", i. e. an "alien", "immigrant" or "resident alien".

<sup>14</sup> See the "Note de B. Landsberger" apud Bottéro, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. below, p. 12 with note 29.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J. Lewy, *American Journal of Archaeology* XLIX, 1945, p. 180.

<sup>17</sup> The "Note de B. Landsberger" just cited comprises another example of forgetfulness which is even more surprising: Landsberger claims there that it was he who, in his article "Ḥabiru und Lulabḥu" (published in 1928 in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I, pp. 321 ff.), attributed to the term *ḥa-bi-ru* the signification "étranger ayant traversé la frontière". The truth is that this interpretation of the term was contemplated by J. Lewy, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 30, 1927, col. 745, and that

his negative view to another statement likewise just published in Bottéro's stimulating book. Paying no attention to the weighty reasons for which other writers regarded the afore-mentioned Ugaritic spelling with *p* of the term *ḥābiru* as inconclusive, its author considers only the question whether or not \**ʿapiru* might have been a designation of people who gained there livelihood from somebody else, working for him "without wages, merely for board and keep". Since he thinks that the Akkadian verb *epēru* "to furnish somebody with food" points to the existence of a West Semitic root ' - *p* - *r* and, therefore, implies the existence of a verbal-adjective \**ʿapirum* > *epirum* to be rendered "one provided with food", he is inclined to answer this question in the affirmative.<sup>18</sup> In my opinion, this view is hardly tenable. In the first place because, as mentioned before, the Ugaritic spelling provides no greater certitude than does the Egyptian that the term *ḥa-bi-ru* belongs to a root ' - *p* - *r*<sup>19</sup>, secondly because no convincing explanation of the personal name *Ḥābiru*<sup>20</sup> results from the proposal to attribute to the appellative noun \**ʿapiru* the signification "one provided with food", and thirdly because it is risky to postulate the existence of an Old West Semitic root primae *y* signifying "to provide somebody with food". In the light of the well-known fact that the ancient town of Bethlehem was also named Ephrat it is, of course, much more likely that the Old West Semitic equivalent of Akkadian *ep̄ru* "food" etc. belonged to a root primae *ṣ*.<sup>21</sup> In order to meet this third objection, the law discovered by Hans Bauer<sup>22</sup> could be invoked with a view to

Landsberger rejected it (*loc. cit.*, pp. 328 f. [see also *ibidem* p. 332]) in the following statement: "Diejenigen, welche die Identität von *ḥ*. und *ʿibrīm* behaupten, müssen . . . . Ein solches עִבְרִי ist aber kaum möglich . . . . Wir können es daher weder in der Bedeutung "(ständiger) Passant", d. h. Mensch ohne festen Wohnsitz oder flüchtiges Bevölkerungselement, noch auch als "einer der (die Grenze) überschritten hat" ansetzen. Während aber die zweite Bedeutung eines aktiven Part. Perf. im Semitischen überhaupt nicht ausdrückbar ist, können wir zur erstangenommenen gelangen bei Ansetzung einer Grundform \**ʿābir*." As for the untenability of this grammatical argument, see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV, 1939, p. 604 with note 89 where I repeated the thesis that West Semitic \**ʿābir* means "he who crossed (the frontier)", i. e. "the foreigner", and called attention to the signification of biblical expressions such as *ḥaššābīm*, *ḥāʾōlīm* etc.

<sup>18</sup> See the "Note de A. Goetze" apud Bottéro, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. now Greenberg, *The Ḥab/piru*, New Haven 1955, p. 90 with notes 23 and 24 and see also Posener apud Bottéro, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>20</sup> As for occurrences of the proper names *Ḥa-bi-rum* and *Ḥa-bi-ru*, see especially Bottéro, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff. sub 32; 33; 47 and cf. *ibidem*, pp. 195 f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also Targumic אֶפְרַת "pasture" and, possibly, the ancient divine name *Ilaḫrat* which may be taken to signify "God of (the town of) Efrat" or "God Food".

<sup>22</sup> *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, Halle 1932, pp. 74 f.

justifying the postulate that the vocabulary of the Old West Semitic languages comprised a verb '-p-r "to provide with food". Having thus removed the difficulty arising from the spelling with  $\aleph$  of the toponym Ephrat and the cognate Aramaic term 'ēfrā "pasture", one might be tempted to derive some support for the rendering "one provided with food" of the postulated West Semitic verbal-adjective \**āpiru* from those recent remarks of Albright<sup>23</sup> in which he attributes to the early theophorous personal names of the type 'Apra-Rašpu, 'Apra-Ba'al etc. the signification "Fosterling of Rešef", "Fosterling of Ba'al" and so on, contending that "Accadian *epēru* 'to feed, to foster, nourish' = Arab. 'fr." However, this contention is not borne out by any of the current Arabic dictionaries of Lane, Freytag, Dozy, Wehr etc. Moreover, in the light of evidence furnished by the onomastics of both the Western and Eastern Semites, even he who accepts Albright's interpretation of those names will have to admit that it cannot seriously be regarded as a conclusive argument in favor of the thesis that the international term *hābiru* belongs to an Old West Semitic root '-p-r meaning "to provide with food".

The West Semitic nomina propria furnishing that evidence are the numerous Phoenician names of the group *Gēr-Melqart*, *Gēr-'Aštōreṭ*, *Gēr-Šāfūn*, *Gēr-Ba'al* etc. in which *gēr* "sojourner of foreign nationality", "client" precedes a divine name. To be sure, it is a debatable question whether *Gēr-Ba'al* signifies "Client of Ba'al", as is usually assumed, or rather "Neighbor of Ba'al", as seems possible in view of Ethiopic *gōr* "neighbor". But there can be no doubt that the name *Gēr-Ba'al* permits us to propose for the older name 'Apra-Ba'al a rendering which is in line with the use of the appellative nouns \**āpiru* and *hābiru* as designations of individuals and groups regarded and treated as strangers by the people among whom they lived.<sup>24</sup> The East Semitic names which, as already intimated, must likewise be kept in mind when dealing with the signification and the etymology of these appellative nouns are the Old Babylonian names of the type *Ubār-Šamaš*, *Ubār-Nabī'um* etc. Since the first element of these names is *ubāru*, the genuine Akkadian word for "emigrant", "resident alien" — a word etymologically elucidated by Old Assyrian *wabrum* "foreigner",

<sup>23</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74, 1954, p. 225.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. my comment apud Bottéro, *op. cit.*, p. 202 on ll. 53–55 of the Ras Shamra document 15109+16296, the full text of which has now been communicated by Nougayrol, *Textes accadiens et hourrites (Mission de Ras Shamra, Tome VI)*, Paris 1955, pp. 102 ff. and plates XXII f. See also the important document communicated in toto by Bottéro, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 f. sub No. 161 (R. Š. 17238). As for the foreign origin of the *hābiru* figuring in the Nuzi documents, see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV, 1939, pp. 604 ff.



"guest" and the cognate Arabic verb *wabara* "to sojourn"<sup>25</sup> —, we learn here again that terms for "alien" may well be supposed to occur in theophorous Semitic names. Moreover, when further recalling, on the one hand, that the Old Babylonian onomastic includes, in addition to the theophorous names just cited, the name *Ubarrum* "Stranger" and, on the other hand, that the Nuzi documents acquaint us with a deity *Tilla*<sup>26</sup>, it appears that the personal name *Ḥa-bi-ir-Til-la*<sup>27</sup> is to the personal name *Ḥa-bi-ru* as *Ubār-Šamaš* is to *Ubarrum*. In concluding therefore that the personal name *Ḥa-bi-ru* may well have meant "Stranger" as do modern names such as *Le Strange*, we realize anew that the appellative noun *ḥābiru* is likely to have defined the individuals and groups which it designated as what they actually were from the viewpoint of the peoples among whom they lived, namely as aliens. In other words, not even the personal names *Ḥa-bi-ru* and *Ḥa-bi-ir-Til-la* can be adduced as a cogent argument against the old thesis which sees in the term *ḥābiru* the Akkadianized participle \**ābiru* of the West Semitic verb *ābara* "to traverse", "to cross over" and maintains that a term signifying "he who crossed over", "he who came from abroad"<sup>28</sup> is an adequate expression for "alien", "resident alien".

Having thus gathered evidence that the Old West Semitic participle \**ābiru*, which appears as *ḥa-bi-ru* in an Assyrian letter written in Anatolia as early as the nineteenth century B. C.<sup>29</sup>, and the similar term *ībrī*, as used in the narratives and legislative portions of the Old Testament, conveyed one and the same notion "alien", "resident alien", we must now attempt to determine whether this can convincingly be explained by resorting to the theory, first advanced by Littmann<sup>30</sup>, that the participle *ābiru* as well as *ībrī* ultimately go

<sup>25</sup> For the references and for the details see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XXVII, 1956, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> For the references see I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, Chicago 1943, p. 266; for an attempt at determining the character of this deity see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XXIII, Part I, 1950-51, p. 380, note 77.

<sup>27</sup> For the reference see now Bottéro, *op. cit.*, p. 62; as for the occurrence in a Kassite text of the variant writing *Ḥa-bi-ir-di-il-la*, see Purves, *American Journal of Semitic Languages* LVII, 1940, pp. 172 f.; J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XV, 1940, p. 48, note 7.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. my remarks apud Bottéro, *op. cit.*, p. 163 and above, p. 8, note 13.

<sup>29</sup> See now Bottéro, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff. On the evidence permitting us to date that Old Assyrian letter, which comes from the "Nabi-Enlil archive" uncovered at Ališar, see now *Orientalia* XXVI, 1957, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Apud Spiegelberg, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 10, 1907, col. 620, note 1. As for other savants who expressed much the same view as Littmann, see *ibidem*, 30, 1927, col. 828 with note 2.



back to *'abir* or whether the synonymity and similarity of the two terms should rather be attributed to the more or less accidental fact that the Old West Semitic root *'abara* offered more than one possibility of expressing the notion "alien". This means that we are now confronted with the question whether or not the interpretation of *'ibrī* as an appellative meaning "alien" permits us to endorse the opinion of that ancient translator of Genesis 14 who, as indicated by his afore-cited rendering of *hā'ibrī* by means of *ὁ περάτης*, actually defined the biblical term as an appellative noun signifying "the one from beyond", "the one from the other side". Judging from the semantics of various other languages it would seem that, on principle, this question can be answered in the affirmative; for the character of terms such as Latin *extraneus* "(not pertinent to us, to our house or to our country but) belonging to what is outside (*extra*)" or English *foreigner*, which ultimately goes back to Latin *foris* "outside" as does Italian *forestiere* "stranger", "guest", makes it clear that more than one vocable signifying "alien" is an adjectival derivative of words which, just as Hebrew *'ēḇer* > *\*'ibr*<sup>31</sup>, denote an area outside one's own territory.

In considering it therefore unnecessary to propose for the biblical appellative term "Hebrew" an etymology other than that suggested by the Septuagint, we do not, of course, deny that the political status of the individuals and groups designated by the Old Testament as Hebrews was virtually the same as that of the aliens who, in pre-biblical times, used to be designated as *ḥābirū*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to dwell today on this particular point and its historical implications. For an adequate discussion of the various aspects and the ramifications of the so-called problem of the *ḥābirū* would compel us to go far beyond the scope of this attempt to elucidate the origin and the primary signification of the biblical term "Hebrew".

<sup>31</sup> As already intimated, I would not know of any cogent reason for assuming that *\*'ibr-* goes back to *\*'abir*. Nor is there any certainty that the (postulated) reduction *\*'abir* > *\*'ibir* > *\*'ibr*, on which Littman based the proposal to explain *'ibrī* as a derivative of *\*'abir*, occurred as late as the second pre-Christian millennium.



## JERUSALEM — 485 B. C.

(Continued)

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

### X

#### THE JUDAEAN KING

IN this task of reconstructing the catastrophe which befell the Jewish community of Palestine early in 485 B. C. the Book of Lamentations, and, specifically, chapters 1, 2, 4, 5 thereof, has been one of our most fruitful sources. As we have seen, chap. 1, with its designation of the Ammonites and Moabites as the enemies, or, more precisely, among the enemies, who participated in the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and the massacre of the people, refers unmistakably to this particular event. Although chapters 2, 4, 5 are not quite as explicit, the picture which they paint of the unhappy incident and of its attendant circumstances is such that, having now established, and, as we believe, beyond any possibility of doubt and challenge, the fact and nature of this catastrophe, it becomes obvious that these three chapters too must refer to this particular occurrence in Jewish history rather than to the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians in 586 B. C., as they are usually interpreted.

Alphabetic acrostic poems, such as chapters 1, 2 and 4 are, are always decidedly artificial in form and in consequence are as a rule more or less artificial and forced in emotional expression. It is surprising therefore that in these three poems and also in chap. 5, all of which deal with the national catastrophe of 486-5 B. C., the emotional expression and effect should be as deep and sincere as they obviously are. However, in this respect the four poems are of unequal quality. Seemingly they were not all composed by one writer nor even at one and the same time.<sup>1</sup> Chapters 2 and 4 have a common major theme, namely the extreme and manifold sufferings experienced by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 543-550; Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 720-723.

population of Jerusalem, and especially by the women and children, during the siege and immediately thereafter. The dominant theme of chap. 5 is the suffering and sad condition of the nation in the period following the catastrophe. Particularly in its three closing vv. this last poem shows decided affinities of thought with Isa. 63.15-64.11 and also with some of the psalms which we have interpreted in relation to this tragic historic event. Chap. 1, on the other hand, deals more specifically with the unhappy military procedures of the siege and their immediate consequences. Apparently, as its position at the head of the little book suggests, it was the oldest of the four poems, and was written therefore not too long after the actual occurrence of the events which it records and while the author's recollection thereof was still vivid and authentic. Certainly of all these four poems its expression of grief and despair seems most genuine. Its direct historical value is beyond dispute.

Now within this comparatively short poem one refrain recurs five times, in vv. 2, 9, 16, 17 and 21. In each of these passages Jerusalem is represented as saying of herself that she has no *m<sup>e</sup>naḥem*. In v. 16 the refrain varies slightly in wording, for here Jerusalem wails that a *m<sup>e</sup>naḥem* is far from her. This five-fold repetition of this word *m<sup>e</sup>naḥem* in this chapter seems purposed and meaningful. The customary translation, "comforter," expresses the real import of the term here inadequately. "Reassurer," that is one who gives reassurance, who restores faith and hope, would approximate the thought implicit here far more closely.<sup>2</sup> These five passages then represent Jerusalem as saying, in the depths of her despair, that she has no one who might reassure her and restore her self-confidence, her faith and her hope. Expressed once or even twice in this short poem the words would voice well the popular reaction to the city's tragic fate as the result of the great catastrophe.

But when uttered five times within the brief compass of twenty-two short verses, and twice in two consecutive verses, the thought suggests itself that in these verses the word may have some deep and cryptic meaning, far more than is apparent upon the surface. And when we recall the clear implication of 4.20 and also that of Ps. 2, the high hopes of national achievement, power and glory which were associated with the person of the newly anointed king, and which in great measure animated the Jewish community of Palestine

<sup>2</sup> So also Isa. 49.13; 51.3, 19; 52.9; 54.11; 66.13 (tris), all passages from the period shortly after 485 B. C. and all referring more or less directly to the catastrophe which befell Jerusalem in that year; cf. also Ezek. 14.23; Zech. 1. 13, 17; Ps. 86.17; Ruth 2.13, and *passim*.

to rebel against the Persian government and constituted the basis of its dream of regained political independence and a position of dignity and authority among the nations of the world, and we then remember the tragic fate of this king as recorded in 4.20 and also in Ps. 89.39-46, 50-52, and perhaps likewise in Mic. 4.14, and the resultant shattering of Judah's hope and dream, we begin immediately to suspect that *m<sup>e</sup>nahem* here means much more than "reassurer" in the simple, literal sense. The thought becomes insistent that here the word refers specifically to this king, and may even have been his name, Menahem, either his real name or else the name which he assumed, in conformity with well authenticated Judaeen royal procedure, when he was inducted into his royal office by the rite of anointing, and that in these five verses, with an effectively incisive paranomasia, Jerusalem voices its poignant grief over his disappearance and presumptive death and the resultant hopelessness of its present situation.

One other Biblical passage seems to corroborate this hypothesis, at least in some measure, Isa. 51.12 f.<sup>3</sup> It represents Yahweh as saying

<sup>3</sup> These two vv. I would reconstruct, with the aid of the versions, thus:

3/3	אנכי יהוא מנחם / ממי את יראת	12.
3/3	ותיראי מאנוש ימות / ומבן אדם כחציר יבש	
3/3	ותשכחי יהוה עשך / קנה שמים וארץ	13.
3/3	ותפחדתי תמיד כל-היום / מפני חמת המציק	
3/3	וכאשר כונן להשחית / ואיה חמת המציק	

I, the Eternal One, am thy Menahem;  
Of whom art thou afraid?  
But thou hast feared a mortal man,  
Yea, a human being, who must wither as grass;  
And thou hast forgotten Yahweh, thy Maker,  
The Creator of heaven and earth,  
And hast been terrified constantly, incessantly,  
Because of the rage of the oppressor.  
But when he makes ready to wreak destruction,  
Where then is the rage of the oppressor?

<sup>a</sup> For this interpretation of הוּא as a by-name or title of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah and in writings subsequent to him cf. Morgenstern, "Deutero-Isaiah's Terminology for 'Universal God'", *JBL* LXII (1943), 269-280.

These two vv. are integral in the address which constitutes the major portion of Isa. 51. (Vv. 4-6 are a misplaced fragment of a different address, and vv. 9 f. also, although of still another address). This address I have reconstructed with the following rearrangement of the vv. and of course with such textual emendations as may seem necessary and which find adequate support in the versions. This is hardly the place to present, and of course with proper justification of them, all these textual emendations. The rearrangement of the vv. which I propose is as follows: vv. 17-23, 12-13, 1-2, 7-8, 16, 3. It is obvious at a glance that vv. 12-13 provide the convincing

to the populace of Jerusalem, "I, the Eternal One, am thy *m<sup>e</sup>nahem*."<sup>4</sup> That there is a play upon words here seems almost certain. This hypothesis finds further support in the question in v. 19, *mî y<sup>e</sup>nah<sup>a</sup>mek*, to which v. 12, as we have reconstructed this address, is the direct answer. This question inaugurates the meaningful play upon words here, and so has the twofold import, "Who will reassure thee?" and "Who will be thy Menahem?" The passage depicts the sufferings of the people and their very unhappy state, obviously as the result of the siege, capture and destruction of the city, in language and with figures of speech decidedly reminiscent of Lam. 1, 2, 4 and 5. That this passage deals with this same historic situation can scarcely be doubted. V. 18 records the distressing fact that Jerusalem is left without a personal leader. This too is the situation vividly depicted in Lam. 4.20 and which is implicit in the oft-repeated lament of Lam. 1, "We have no Menahem." It is in response to this unhappy plight that the Deity intervenes and announces that henceforth He Himself will be Jerusalem's "Reassurer," its Menahem. This is the most natural explanation of the passage, for it brings out its full and far-reaching implication and at the same time establishes satisfactorily its historical setting.

This is the sum total of the evidence bearing upon the potential name of this king. It must be acknowledged that it is only incidental and by no means conclusive. Yet it bears all the earmarks of probability. And with the reservation that this name of the king is not established with complete certainty, and is in fact not much more than a very reasonable probability, none the less for convenience we may refer to him now and then as Menahem.<sup>5</sup>

answer to the cogent question in v. 19b $\beta$ , where, with St. Mark's Isaiah manuscript, *G*, *V* and *S*, for מנחם we must read ינחם, "Who will be thy Menahem, thy Reassurer?" Moreover, as thus reconstructed, this address deals with a situation closely similar to that depicted in Lam. 1. This can be only that of the catastrophe which befell Jerusalem in 485 B. C. It is obvious from the context that in both vv. 12 and 19 the verb *nahem* connotes "to reassure; to impart hope" rather than merely "to comfort," for to give reassurance and to impart hope of a future happier and free from conquest and oppression form the dominant theme of this address.

<sup>4</sup> Read with *G* מנחם for מנחם of *MT*. The final מ of מנחם must of course be linked to the next word, which would then read ממ, just as is to be expected; cf. Gen. 46.3; Lev. 19.14, 32; 25.17, 36, 43; Deut. 7.18; 20.1; Ps. 3.7; 27.1; 119.120, and *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> It may be noted in passing that a former king of the Northern Kingdom, some two centuries and a half earlier, had borne this same name (II Kings 15.14-23). It is not at all improbable that Menahem may have been the royal name assumed by this scion of David at the moment of his anointing and throne-ascension. This would have conformed to a well authenticated practice of the kings of the Davidic



Is it possible to ascertain anything more about the personality and the life of this king?

Mal. 2.10-16 is one of the most baffling passages of the entire Bible. The broad, universalistic thought voiced in v. 10b is cited so frequently that it is usually taken for granted that the specific import of the entire passage is directly dependent upon it and is perfectly comprehensible; yet nothing is further from the truth. That the passage is a torso is self-evident. It has no thought-connection whatever with either what precedes or what follows. It must be therefore an independent utterance of the prophet. Moreover, it seems to begin *in medias res*, and to be accordingly only a fragment of the complete original address; manifestly its opening section, whether long or short, has been lost.

Von Bulmerincq, whose commentary on Malachi<sup>6</sup> is in many respects a model of its kind, has unquestionably gone far astray in his interpretation of this obscure passage. He assigns it, upon quite arbitrary grounds, to 478 B. C. and holds that it is a denunciation by the prophet of the prevailing practice of intermarriage. He argues further that, while general in its application, it is specific in its immediate reference, in that it deals with the case of a man, no longer young, who has divorced the Jewish wife of his youth in order to marry a younger and more attractive Samaritan woman. This latter person, von Bulmerincq argues, is "the one whom Yahweh hates."<sup>7</sup>

This argument as well as its initial assumption are altogether fanciful and fallacious. There is absolutely nothing in the text to

line. In such case it is a reasonable assumption that this Menahem was actually Meshullam, the son of Zerubabel (I Chron. 3.19). Inasmuch as in this list of Zerubabel's children Meshullam is cited first, it may be inferred with reasonable probability that he was Zerubabel's oldest son, and therefore the natural successor to his father as the legitimate candidate for the throne of his ancestors. Moreover, as the oldest son of Zerubabel, he would at this time, thirty-five years after Zerubabel's rebellion and probable death, have been at the very least forty, and not at all improbably even somewhat more than fifty, years old, and therefore certainly no longer young. Furthermore, the fact that in this list of descendants of David no children of Meshullam are listed, while the son or sons of Hananiah, his brother, apparently next in line to him, since this name follows in the list immediately after Meshullam, are listed in v. 21, suggests very strongly that this Meshullam was childless. We shall learn very soon that both these circumstances, that in 486 B. C. he was no longer a young man, and that he was childless, seem to have attended the king of Judah who was anointed in that year and to whom we have applied the name, Menahem.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Prophet Maleachi*, 2 volumes, 1926.

<sup>7</sup> This argument of von Bulmerincq is based in good part upon a textual reconstruction of v. 16a rather drastic in character and, so it seems, hardly necessary.

suggest that the *bat 'el nekar*, the "daughter of a foreign god," of v. 11b was a Samaritan or even to justify the designation of a Samaritan woman by a title such as this; and this all the more so since there is cogent reason for believing that in 478 B. C. the Samaritans were not yet regarded by the Jewish community in Judah as a foreign or heathen people.<sup>8</sup> Neither is there the slightest evidence that opposi-

<sup>8</sup> It would be difficult indeed to conceive that such could have been the case so soon after the cessation of the program of proselytism to Judaism during the period of the second Temple, 516-485 B. C. (cf. Morgenstern, "Two Prophecies from 520-516 B. C.," *HUCA* XXII [1949], 365-431). Moreover, it is significant in regard to this question that in 408 B. C. the Jews of Elephantine in Egypt turned to Sanballat and his sons in Samaria at the same time and in the same manner as they turned to Johanan, the high-priest, and the Jews in Jerusalem for assistance in the rebuilding of their destroyed Yahweh-sanctuary, and that, whereas Johanan and his associates turned a deaf ear to this appeal, Sanballat and the Samaritans responded to it promptly and generously. Obviously the Jewish community of Elephantine still in 408 B. C., a quarter of a century after the Samaritan schism had been inaugurated, or at least had been intensified, by Nehemiah's expulsion from the Jewish community of Manasseh, the grandson of Eliashib, the chief-priest, and the son-in-law of Sanballat, regarded the Samaritans as fellow-Jews and true worshippers of Yahweh. And that the Samaritans so regarded themselves is evidenced by their ready response to this appeal of their Jewish brethren in Egypt, and also by the fact that the two sons of Sanballat, Delaiah and Shelemiah, bore names of which, in traditional, pious Jewish manner, the name of the Deity was an integral part. There is abundant Biblical evidence that until the coming to Jerusalem of Ezra in 458 B. C. and of Nehemiah in 444 B. C. and the promulgation of their program of Jewish religious particularism and isolationism, the relations between the Jewish community in Judah and Jerusalem and the Samaritans were those of mutual good will, and that intermarriage between at least the upper social strata of the two groups was not infrequent (cf. Neh. 4.6; 6.13, 17-20, 28).

The account of the hostility of the Samaritans towards the Jews of Jerusalem, of which we read in Ezra 4.1-5, and perhaps also the representation of the Samaritans as a foreign people and worshippers of foreign gods (II Kings 17.24-41) are manifestly exaggerations. They reflect the point of view, not at all of the native Jewish population of Jerusalem at about 478 B. C., but rather of the Jewish particularism and isolationism inaugurated by Ezra and Nehemiah, which found its ultimate and most positive and effective expression in the Priestly Code, in the representation there of the Jewish community, no longer as the universalistic *k'hal Yahweh*, "the congregation of Yahweh," into which foreign proselytes were freely admitted, of the period of the second Temple and of the Biblical writings which date therefrom, but rather as the particularistic *'adat Yisra'el*, "the assembly of Israel," and in the subsequent doctrine and program of Normative Judaism, the outgrowth of the thoroughgoing priestly reformation of Judaism in the final quarter of the fifth century B. C., which was based entirely upon the Priestly Code. This program of extreme particularism will account adequately for the rejection, in 408 B. C., by Johanan, the high-priest, and the Jerusalem community, of the appeal of the Elephantine Jews for aid in rebuilding their destroyed Yahweh sanctuary. Unquestionably Johanan and his associates must, in their narrow religious particularism, have

tion to intermarriage had as yet begun to assert itself in Palestinian Jewry. From very early times intermarriage had been regarded in Israel as in every way normal and natural. The first manifestation of systematic opposition to it in Palestinian Jewish circles was in the marriage reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, approximately a quarter of a century later than the date to which Von Bulmerincq would assign this passage. These marriage reforms reflect the spirit and procedure of Jewish particularism and isolationism which evolved within a certain, small section of the Babylonian Jewish community and which were transmitted to Palestine and instituted there as an actively aggressive program only by Ezra and Nehemiah, rather than the spirit and purpose of the native Jewish population of Palestine in the period with which we are dealing.

Above all, if the prophet's primary task was to denounce intermarriage as such, then why should he have based his denunciation upon a case so atypical and with various other side-issues involved to complicate and confuse the major problem, such as that of a man, no longer young, who must first divorce his Jewish wife, to whom he had apparently been married for quite a number of years, in order to make it possible for him to marry a foreign woman? Had his purpose been to denounce intermarriage in principle, why refer to any specific instance at all? Or, had this been advisable for any reason, he could certainly have cited plenty of actual instances of young men, some undoubtedly scions of aristocratic families, who were taking foreign women as their first and only wives, and, on the basis of some such typical case, have denounced intermarriage directly and without weakening or confusing his argument by interjecting other complicating and unessential issues.

More than this, the five-fold use of the verb, *bagad*, "to betray,"<sup>9</sup> especially when coupled with the specific statement of v. 16a,<sup>10</sup> establishes convincingly that here the arch-sin, which the prophet denounces so vehemently, is not intermarriage at all, or at least not in first degree, but is rather marital unfaithfulness and betrayal, which culminate in divorce. Not intermarriage, but rather divorce, and especially divorce of the faithful wife of one's youth, is represented

regarded these Egyptian Jews in quite the same manner as they regarded the Samaritans, as foreigners, non-Jews, and therefore not as true worshippers of Yahweh, the God of Israel.

<sup>9</sup> Above all in the specific connotation of marital impropriety and infidelity; cf. Ex. 21.8; Jer. 3.8, 11, 20; 9.1; Hos. 5.7.

<sup>10</sup> To emend which, as we shall soon see, there is, despite von Bulmerincq, no necessity whatever.

by the prophet as that which Yahweh hates particularly. That in this instance the obvious purpose of the divorce is to facilitate the marriage of the husband to a foreign woman is merely a contributory circumstance in the total offense. There can be no question that Von Bulmerincq and practically all other commentators as well have missed the real import of the passage completely, that their various interpretations must be rejected in their entirety, and that the true meaning and the historical setting of this difficult passage must be sought in an altogether different direction.

To correctly interpret this passage many perplexing questions, almost all of which Von Bulmerincq ignores completely, must first be answered. It will be well to begin by enumerating some of these questions.

In v. 10 who are the speakers, represented by the four-fold use of the 1st person plural? Who are *'iš b'ahîw*? What is the "covenant of our fathers?" And what is the import of the argument employed here, that since "we" have all one divine Father, why should "we" endeavor to deceive each other?

In v. 11 just what is the precise connotation of *bat 'el nekar*? That in a general sense it designates a foreign woman need not be doubted. But just what can be the specific meaning of the expression, "the daughter of a foreign god?" Just as an individual Israelite was never called *ben Yahweh* nor an ordinary Babylonian *apil Marduk*, so correspondingly no ordinary foreign woman would be called *bat 'el nekar*. Rather she would have been termed *'iššah nokriyyah*.<sup>11</sup> Obviously the use of this particular term here implies that this was no ordinary foreign woman. She must accordingly have been a person of extraordinary rank and station.

This suggests, in turn, that this particular marriage, the solemnization of which must be preceded by the divorce of the first wife, could have been no ordinary marriage. On the one hand, had an ordinary marriage transaction been contemplated here, there would have been absolutely no need that the first wife be divorced in order to permit the husband to take a second wife. While monogamy may well have been the prevailing practice in Judah at this time, certainly plural marriages were not unknown nor even frowned upon, as Deut. 21.15-17, a piece of legislation presumably of pre-exilic origin but incorporated into a post-exilic stratum of Deuteronomy, and there-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. I Kings 11.1; Ruth 2.10; Ezra 10.2. and *passim*.

fore valid in the period with which we are dealing,<sup>12</sup> amply proves.<sup>13</sup> Ordinarily therefore the man in question could have taken the foreign woman as his second wife without any compulsion whatever to divorce his first wife and without any issue being involved which would have warranted a prophetic denunciation as scathing as this. Unquestionably this must have been a marriage of most unusual character between two parties, both of very high station, much higher even than the old and wealthy Jewish man whom Von Bulmerincq conjures up from the depths of his imagination; and the foreign woman too must have been of correspondingly high station. Only such a marriage, one whose necessary preliminary was, for some cogent reason, the divorce of the devoted and loving first wife, and also one which must have had some particular interest and import for the people as a whole, could have warranted specific denunciation by a prophet. And only a marriage in which the subsequent rank and authority of the second wife were a major consideration would have necessitated the divorce of the first wife as its indispensable preliminary. Obviously the term, *bat 'él nekar*, was used by the prophet purposely and with full awareness of its specific import. But these considerations only make the question more acute, who were the three participants in this marital drama, the man, the first wife, and the foreign woman of high rank and station?

Above all others, the following question is troublesome, but must be answered positively if the passage is to be interpreted correctly; who are the subjects of the various verbs, and what is the import of the rapid and confusing shifting of person and number within this short passage? In this connection we note the use of the 1st plural in v. 10, the 3rd singular in v. 11, the 2nd plural in vv. 13-14a, the 2nd singular in v. 14b, the 3rd singular in v. 15a, and, finally, the 2nd plural in v. 16b, all this within the compass of seven verses. What different personalities and what sequence of thought can this rapid shift of persons and numbers indicate?

And even more perplexing, and also, as we shall learn, of particular significance, is the fact that, although, as the name of the country, *Y<sup>h</sup>udah* would normally be feminine, in v. 11b it is masculine, the subject of the two verbs in the half-verse, both in the 3rd singular

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant," II, *HUCA* VII (1930), 185-189.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also the injunction in Deut. 17.17, a portion of a piece of legislation of post-exilic origin. Certainly it implies that for the king at least monogamy, while perhaps commendable, was not an absolute rule.



masculine. Moreover, so the half-verse says explicitly, it is this masculine *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah* who is about to profane that which is held sacred by Yahweh and marry this "daughter of a foreign god." Plainly *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah* is here the designation of neither the land nor the people, but instead of an individual, of a man, and certainly some man of more than ordinary significance. Who can this man, designated thus by the name of the land or the people, be?

The difficulty of interpretation of the passage results not only from the fact, already noted, that its beginning has apparently been lost, with the result that we are plunged immediately into the midst of a complex thought-sequence without any indication whatever of its historic setting, but also and to an even greater degree from the manifestly corrupt character of the text. In the task of textual reconstruction the versions offer almost no help. In general their various texts are more confused, disjointed and meaningless than that of *MT*. Unquestionably the textual corruption of the passage antedated even the earliest versions, and what the latter attempted to do in the main was to read a meaning and a message into a text which was to them almost incomprehensible. In so doing they succeeded on the whole only in making confusion more confounded.

None the less it is quite impossible to interpret this difficult and corrupt, but for our present task, as we shall see, extremely important, passage without resorting to textual reconstruction. And inasmuch as the versions offer so little aid herein, we are compelled to rely in no small degree upon conjecture, always a precarious procedure, the conclusions from which must invariably be accepted with caution. And occasionally even conjecture fails, as for example in v. 15aba, and the particular section must be dismissed as hopelessly corrupt. With this introductory statement the following reconstruction of the text of Mal. 2.10-16 is offered, with, however, appropriate reservation:

4/4	10. הָלוֹא אַב אֶחָד לְכָלֵנוּ / הָלוֹא אֵל אֶחָד בְּרָאנוּ
3/3	מְדוּעַ־נִבְנָה <sup>14</sup> אִישׁ בְּאָחִיו / לְחַלֵּל בְּרִית אֲבֹתֵינוּ
3/3	11. בְּנֵינוּ <sup>15</sup> יְהוּדָה <וְצוֹר> / וְתוֹעֵבָה נַעֲשֶׂה <sup>16</sup> בִּירוּשָׁלַם

<sup>14</sup> נִבְנָה should no doubt be vocalized נִבְנָה.

<sup>15</sup> For בְּנֵינוּ *G* read בְּנֵה. Metrical considerations suggest that a word has been lost following יְהוּדָה. Considerations of context, which will be developed later, suggest that this missing word was almost certainly וְצוֹר. And this suggests, in turn, that בְּנֵינוּ be emended to בְּנֵינוּ.

<sup>16</sup> Metrical considerations suggest that the quite improbable בִּישְׂרָאֵל<sup>1</sup> is superfluous and disturbing and therefore a gloss.



- 4/4 כיחלל יהודה קדש<sup>17</sup> יהוה<sup>18</sup> / ובעל<sup>19</sup> בת אל נכר  
 4/4 12. יכרת יהוה לאיש<sup>20</sup> / יעשנה<sup>20</sup> / ער וענה<sup>21</sup> מאהלי יעקב<sup>22</sup>  
 3/3 13. וזאת שנית תעשו / תכסו<sup>23</sup> / דמעה את<sup>24</sup> המזבח<sup>25</sup>  
 3/3 מאינעוד פנות<sup>26</sup> אליהמנחה / וקחת לרצון מידכם  
 4/3 14. ואמרתם עלימה על-כיייהוה<sup>27</sup> העיר / בינך ובינאשת ועוריד

<sup>17</sup> Von Bulmerincq interprets קדש here as meaning the Temple. But קדש is never used with this connotation. Moreover, the context discloses that, as used here, קדש is the antithesis of חוקעה in v. 11a and of "that which Yahweh hates" in v. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Inasmuch as אשר אהב is superfluous to the thought and also disturbs the meter, it is best to regard it as a gloss which defines יהוה קדש.

<sup>19</sup> Both *G* and *S*, with considerable textual variation, interpret v. 11b as "and went after (or "worshipped") (a) strange god(s)." Apparently, either unable or unwilling to recognize the implication of intermarriage in *MT*, and misled perhaps by, or else taking advantage of, the term אל נכר in *MT*, these versions have recast the clause in order to give it a purely conventional meaning. It is clear from this that the actual import of the passage escaped them completely.

<sup>20</sup> אשר disturbs the meter and should therefore be omitted as an altogether prosaic gloss.

<sup>21</sup> For ער וענה *G* read ער וענה; *V*'s *magistrum et discipulum* probably implies an original ער וענה. Both *S* and Targum interpret the expression as meaning "son and grandson," i. e. posterity. The expression is a hapaxlegomenon and seemingly defies etymological explanation. Not improbably some textual corruption may be latent here. But the context suggests that *S* and *T* have caught the true meaning of the term or, if it be a corruption, of whatever its original may have been.

<sup>22</sup> ומניש מנחה ליהוה צבאות is probably a gloss. It adds nothing whatever to the thought and seems even somewhat repetitious. According to Mal. 1.7 f. the levitical priests were the מנישי מנחה ליהוה, "those who brought the sacrifices near unto Yahweh." The prophet would scarcely therefore have applied this term to non-levites, no matter who they might be. Moreover, were this clause genuine, it would make a tristich of v. 12, and this too the only tristich in this passage; and wherever, in Biblical poetry, the final measure of a tristich adds little or nothing to the thought, and distichs are, as here, the dominant metrical unit in the poem, it is well to regard such a third stichos with suspicion.

<sup>23</sup> For כסות read, with *G* either תכסו or כסיתם.

<sup>24</sup> For metrical considerations יהוה את-מובה must either be read as a single beat, which would be difficult indeed, or else, what seems far preferable, emended to את-המזבח. In either case the meaning of the clause is unchanged.

<sup>25</sup> מאינעוד פנות (to which *G* adds מעמל) are both metrically and contextually superfluous and somewhat disturbing, and should be regarded as a gloss supplementing דמעה.

<sup>26</sup> For פנות and ולקחת *V* seems to have read ופנית and ולקחתי; but there is no reason whatever to question the syntactical correctness of the two infinitives after מאין. Probably therefore the quite simple emendation of ולקחת רצון to ולקחת רצון restores the text adequately.

<sup>27</sup> Notice that the placing of the subject before, instead of in its normal position after, the verb emphasizes the thought that Yahweh Himself takes notice of this monstrous act and bears testimony in behalf of the betrayed wife against her faithless husband.

- 4/4                      אשר אתה בנדתה בה / והיא חברתך ואשת בריתך  
 x/x                    .15. .... ושארית לו / ומה .... מבקש זרע ....  
 x/3                    .29. .... / ובאשת נעוריו<sup>30</sup> אל-יבגר  
 4/3                    .16. כיישנאתי<sup>31</sup> שלח אמר יהוה<sup>32</sup> / וכסה<sup>33</sup> חמס על-לבשו  
 4/3                    ונשמרתם בבריתכם<sup>34</sup> ולא תבגדו / אמר יהוה צבאות<sup>35</sup>

10. Have we not all one Father; hath not one God created us?  
 Why (then) do we deal treacherously, each with the other,  
 to profane the covenant of our ancestors?
11. Judah and Tyre deal treacherously (with each other),  
 And something abominable is being done in Jerusalem;  
 For Judah would profane that which is held sacred by Yahweh,  
 And would marry the daughter of a foreign god.
12. May Yahweh cut off for the man who would do this  
 Posterity from the tents of Jacob.<sup>35a</sup>
13. And this is the next thing which ye do;  
 Ye cover the altar with tears,  
 So that there is no longer any turning (by Yahweh) towards<sup>36</sup>  
 the sacrifice

<sup>28</sup> As was said above, v. 15ab seems hopelessly corrupt, so that it is extremely hazardous to venture any textual reconstruction. Perhaps *אחר* should be emended to *האחר* and the present *האחר*, with *G*, to *האחר*. The two terms, "the one" and "the other," would then refer to the two parties to the covenant or compact, which, as we shall see, seems to be one of the themes basic to this passage.

<sup>29</sup> In all likelihood *בְּרוּחָם* *וּנְשִׁמְרָתָם*. There is a dittograph of the same expression in v. 16.

<sup>30</sup> For *נְעוּרֵיךְ* read *נְעוּרָיו* with *S* and to conform to *יבגר*.

<sup>31</sup> For *שָׁנָא* *G* read *שָׁנָא*; *V* and Targum read *שָׁנְאָתָה*; *S* omits *כִּי־שָׁנָא* altogether. Undoubtedly some indication of the subject of the verb is necessary in connection with *שָׁנָא*; and inasmuch as the Deity is represented as speaking, and also in close accord with what appears to be the general thought of the passage, it seems best to emend to *שָׁנְאָתִי*.

<sup>32</sup> Metrical considerations suggest that *אלהי ישראל* is a gloss.

<sup>33</sup> Since v. 16aβ seems to be the continuation of the object of *שָׁנְאָתִי*, it is wise to read for *וְכָסָה*, *וְכָסָה* or even *וְכָסוּת*.

<sup>34</sup> Just what *בְּרוּחָם* *וּנְשִׁמְרָתָם* might mean here is enigmatical. Presumably too, if *רוח* were original here, we would expect *בְּרוּחוֹתֵיכֶם* (cf. Deut. 14.15; Josh. 23.11; Jer. 17.21). It seems best therefore, in conformity with, as we shall see, one of the major themes of this passage, to emend *בְּרוּחָם* to *בְּרוּחֵיכֶם*.

<sup>35</sup> For metrical reasons and also to avoid too close juxtaposition to *אמר יהוה* of v. 16aα *אמר יהוה צבאות* should probably be transferred to the end of the v.

<sup>35a</sup> I. e. "the families" or "clans." *אהל* is used here in precisely the same sense as the Arabic *اهل*. The term is applied in Ps. 120.5; Cant. 1.5 to the families or clans of the Bedouin B'nai Kedem.

<sup>36</sup> For *אל* *פנה*, "to turn towards (with good will); to have regard for," cf. Lev. 26.9; Num. 16.15; 2 Sam. 9.8; I Kings 8.28; Ps. 69.17; 102.18, and *passim*.

Nor accepting (the sacrifice) with favor from your hands.

14. Yet ye say, Wherefore? Because Yahweh beareth testimony  
Between thee and the wife of thy youth,  
Whom thou dost betray,  
Even though she is thy mate and thy covenanted wife.
15. .... and posterity may be to him;  
And what ..... doth desire? ..... offspring.

.....  
And the wife of his youth let him not betray.

16. For I hate divorce, sayeth Yahweh,  
And the spreading of violence upon one's garment.<sup>37</sup>  
So guard yourselves in (the observance of) your covenant, so  
that you do not practice betrayal,  
Sayeth Yahweh of Hosts.

The interpretation of this passage depends in considerable measure upon the determination of who was the *bat 'ël nêkar*, "the daughter of a foreign god," of v. 11. We have already suggested that this term cannot mean, as it is usually interpreted, any foreign woman regardless of station. It can, it is safe to presume, connote only a woman of exalted rank, presumably a foreign princess or some person of comparable standing.

Furthermore, the only reasonable interpretation of *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah* in v. 11b, is that this man, *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah*, who would profane that which is sacred to Yahweh, plainly, as the context indicates unmistakably, the covenanted marriage bond which binds husband and wife together in inseparable union, and would divorce the wife of his youth, his true life-mate, in order to marry this "daughter of a foreign god," can be only the king himself, the king of Judah. Certainly the designation of a king by the name of his country, in this instance *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah*, is a practice not too uncommon in royal terminology.<sup>38</sup> And inasmuch as

<sup>37</sup> Deut. 23.1; 27.20; Ezek. 16.8; Ruth 3.9 indicate that in Israel it was customary for the groom to spread his outer garment, or at least a portion thereof, over his bride as a preliminary to marriage. This symbolized his taking her as his own and his protection of her ever thereafter. For the spreading of a garment over the bride as a marriage rite among the Bedouin, although this act was not necessarily performed by the bridegroom, cf. Featherman, *The Aramaeans*, 368; Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 83.

<sup>38</sup> In Isa. 49.3 *Yisra'el* is the designation of the Suffering Servant. Contrast the implication of the name here with that of the same term in vv. 5 and 6 of the same chapter. There *Yisra'el* is certainly the designation of the people, its customary usage. But the *Yisra'el* who in v. 3, but two short vv. earlier, is designated as the Servant of Yahweh, charged with the task of "bringing Jacob back to Himself and of gathering Israel once again about Himself," cannot possibly be the people Israel itself. Here *Yisra'el* can designate only a single person, some individual; and this

Malachi's prophetic ministry fell during the period when the second Temple was still standing, the period during which the levitical priests, whom he denounced so scathingly for the irresponsible and irreverent manner in which they discharged their official duties,<sup>39</sup> were functioning as its priests,<sup>40</sup> and therefore covered the year 486-5 B. C., there can be no question whatever that the king who is designated here as *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah*, "Judah," can be none other than our Menahem.

Nor need we hesitate at all now in identifying this "daughter of a foreign god" whom Menahem would marry, and for which purpose he would divorce the covenanted and faithful wife of his youth.<sup>41</sup> The term, "the daughter of a foreign god," must here be interpreted literally. She can be only a Tyrian princess, the daughter of the then reigning king of Tyre. In a paper still unpublished<sup>42</sup> I was able to show that beginning with Hiram, early in the tenth century B. C., the successive kings of Tyre regularly enacted, in the cultic celebration of the two equinoctial festivals of the Tyrian solar religion, the role of the supreme Tyrian solar deity, Baal Shamem-Melcarth, the deification of the sun in its annual course.

At the festival of the autumnal equinox the Tyrian king played, in symbolic and highly dramatic manner, the part of Baal Shamem, the sun-god of the winter half of the year, grown old and becoming feebler day by day, and finally dying or vanishing from human sight, consumed by fire which came forth from his own person, descending into the netherworld through the gateway between the Pillars of Hercules, or of Baal Shamem, as they were also called, the cosmic mountain at the far western end of the habitable world, which had

individual, called by this meaningful name, can be only the king, Israel's anointed king (cf. Isa. 61.1), destined by Yahweh from birth to be His servant, charged with the heavy task, involving the extreme of suffering and even death, of bringing initially restoration to Israel and eventually salvation to all mankind. The Suffering Servant can be none but the king of Israel. What king, or what kind of king, this may have been we shall in due time endeavor to determine. It suffices for the present to have established this second instance in Biblical writings where the name of the people is used as a designation for the king, and in so doing to find confirmation of our interpretation of the name, *Y<sup>e</sup>hudah*, in Mal. 2.11.

<sup>39</sup> Mal. 1.6-2.9.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod and the 'Tent of Meeting,'" 134 (*HUCA*, XVIII [1944], 20); "Two Prophecies from 520-516 B. C.," 395 (*HUCA*, XXII [1949], 31).

<sup>41</sup> Vv. 14 f.

<sup>42</sup> Presented under the title, "The King-God among the Western Semites and in Ancient Israel," at the International Congress of Historians of Religion at Rome in April, 1955.

split asunder into two towering, pillar-like peaks, and thus laid bare the gateway leading downwards into the netherworld beneath, the entrance into the realm of darkness and death, which the mountain normally covered. There in the netherworld, far from the habitations of men, the god abode for the time, asleep or dead or perhaps held captive by Mot or Sheol, the god and ruler of the netherworld.

But when the festival of the vernal equinox, the Tyrian New Year Festival, came around, the god, now restored to life, resurrected and rejuvenated, and triumphant at last over his implacable enemies, the forces of death and chaos, ascended from the world of darkness below, through the gateway laid bare by the splitting apart of the other cosmic mountain at the far eastern edge of the habitable world to become correspondingly two tall pillar-like peaks, the Pillars of Hercules or of Melcarth in the east,<sup>43</sup> ascended in the form of the rejuvenated, vigorous Melcarth into the world of light and life above, and thence returned to his people, his city and his sanctuary to resume his creative, life-giving course through the new year just beginning. And this role too, that of Melcarth, the resurrected, rejuvenated god, was enacted in realistic manner by the successive kings of Tyre at each annually recurring, equinoctial New Year's Festival. Just how these Tyrian kings enacted the role of the dying and resurrected god of the solar year we do not know in full detail. But this much is certain, that the god was thought to embody himself in each successive king of Tyre in turn, as he played this divine role for the first time after his accession to the throne, therefore at the commencement of his first official regnal year, and that thereby the king became permanently identified with the god, became *Epiphanes*, the god in visible human form, in the most literal sense,<sup>44</sup> and con-

<sup>43</sup> Graphically symbolized by the two wondrous pillars in the temple of Melcarth at Tyre (Herodotus, II, 44) and the two lofty pillars which stood in the Temple of Solomon just in front of the main entrance to the temple building proper, upon its eastern facade (I Kings 7.21). Practically this same scene, the ascension of the resurrected god of the solar year, in this case Marduk, the Babylonian counterpart of the Phoenician Melcarth, rising, or about to rise, just after sunrise, from the netherworld through the gateway therefrom, laid bare by the splitting apart of the cosmic mountain upon the eastern horizon which normally covered this gateway, is depicted graphically upon a number of seal-cylinders from the Sargonid period in Babylonia, approximately twelve hundred years earlier than the reign of Hiram of Tyre; cf. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, nos. 244-261; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, nos. 319-321; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, nos. 50-52; Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, nos. 683-685.

<sup>44</sup> As II Macc. 4.18 f. indicates, it was in connection with the celebration of the ancient Tyrian festival that Antiochus IV of Syria, in the second quarter of the second century B. C., acquired the title *Epiphanes*, with all its primary implications. With



tinued to regard himself and to be regarded by his people as a divine being, a god, ever thereafter.

Ezek. 28.1-19 denounces a king of Tyre, a specific king of Tyre, for claiming to be a god, the god who dwells in the heart of the sea,<sup>45</sup> and who must in due time descend into the netherworld,<sup>46</sup> who will come to his end through fire coming forth from within his own body and consuming him, so that he will henceforth be invisible to men.<sup>47</sup> This god can be only Baal Shamem. But, so the passage says further, he is also the god who was of supreme wisdom, who was the source of Tyre's commercial hegemony throughout the world,<sup>48</sup> and who was self-created or self-recreated.<sup>49</sup> This god can be only Melcarth. In other words, here, in graphic and convincing manner, the king of Tyre is depicted as a god himself, the living embodiment, the incarnation, of the Tyrian solar deity, Baal Shamem-Melcarth, in both phases of his divine being, the old and dying god and the resurrected, youthful

this cf. Dan. 11.38 f. and note the term, *'eloah nekar* in v. 39. Biblical scholars are in practical agreement that the king denounced so severely in Dan. 11, who, among other offenses, made himself supreme over all other gods, was Antiochus IV. And inasmuch as this festival of II Macc. 4, in which Antiochus IV was the dominant figure, was celebrated at Tyre, and inasmuch as this king bore proudly and purposefully throughout practically his entire reign the title Epiphanes, it follows with almost complete certainty that it was upon this occasion, in the course of the celebration of this quinquennial Tyrian festival, its very first celebration following his accession to the Syrian kingship, that he acquired this title, and with this declared himself formally as the true, the divinely chosen, king of Tyre. Quite plainly he enacted in the ritual of the festival the very role which in earlier times was performed by the successive, native Tyrian kings, and through the performance of which each Tyrian king in turn, the Tyrian king of Ezek. 28.1-19 for example, became Epiphanes, the god in human form, the living embodiment of Baal Shamem-Melcarth, the supreme deity of the Tyrian pantheon. Thus he became in the most literal sense a god, and from the Jewish standpoint an *'el* or an *'eloah nekar*, "a foreign god." The understanding of the true import of this term, otherwise altogether baffling in its application to a human being, confirms definitively our interpretation of Mal. 2.11, that the "daughter of a foreign god" whom *Y'hudah*, the Judaeen king, would marry, could be only the daughter of the king of Tyre.

<sup>45</sup> V. 2. The great temple of Zeus Olympios, i. e. Baal Shamem, completely remodelled by Hiram (Josephus, *Antiquities*, VIII, 5, 3; *Contra Apionem*, I, 17), was situated upon the little island to the west, or slightly southwest, of the city proper. This islet, known as the Sacred Island of Tyre, had an interesting and significant mythological background. As an important detail of his reconstruction of this temple Hiram linked this island to the city by a causeway.

<sup>46</sup> V. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Vv. 18 f.

<sup>48</sup> Vv. 3 f.

<sup>49</sup> V. 15. This seems to be precisely what is implied by the *nif'al* form of the verb, *hibbar'e'ak*, "thy self-creation" or "re-creation."



god. The denunciations of Tyre here and also in chapter 27, immediately preceding, are certainly not the utterances of the prophet Ezekiel himself. This is the opinion of most present-day Biblical scholars. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>50</sup> the denunciation of Tyre in chapter 27 was composed shortly after the Battle of Artemisium in 480 B. C. and the collapse of Xerxes' expedition against Greece.<sup>51</sup> And there is every reason for believing that the denunciation of Tyre and its king in chapter 28.1-19 is the product of the same period and perhaps even of the same prophetic author. Accordingly the king of Tyre whose condemnation and approaching doom are announced with so much satisfaction on the part of the author of this latter passage can have been only that king of Tyre who was reigning in 480 B. C., and who presumably was likewise occupying the throne six short years earlier, in 486 B. C.

Certainly the daughter of this king, a Tyrian princess, could be designated literally and correctly, but also on the part of a prophet of Yahweh, such as Malachi was, with very effective scorn and sarcasm, as "the daughter of a foreign god." Manifestly this entire passage in Malachi is animated by a deep and uncompromising hostility to this particular king of Tyre and his nation. Furthermore, since marriages with foreign princesses were contracted regularly in the ancient Near East for political purposes, in order to cement relations of friendship and cooperative alliance between nations, and since the male participant in such a marriage was normally either the reigning king<sup>52</sup> or the crown prince<sup>53</sup> of the one country, it follows again that the *Y'hudah* here, who would marry this "daughter of a foreign god," this Tyrian princess, and, in order to carry this marriage through in a manner which conformed adequately to the particular situation and was completely satisfactory to her royal father, was ready to divorce his first wife, the wife of his youth, could have been only Menahem. And plainly the two kings, Menahem of Judah and the king of Tyre, must have been seeking to arrange a treaty of alliance between their two nations. In their negotiations each seems to have sought to overreach the other and gain advantage for himself and his cause.

<sup>50</sup> "Psalm 48," *HUCA* XVI (1941), 10-18.

<sup>51</sup> This was also the time of composition of Mal. 1.2-5; cf. Morgenstern, "The Rest of the Nations", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, II (1957), 230 f.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Solomon's marriage with the daughter of the king of Egypt and with other foreign princesses (I Kings 3.1; 11.1-3).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Ahab's marriage, arranged by his father, Omri, while Ahab was still crown prince, with Jezebel, the Tyrian princess, and likewise the marriage of Jehoram of Judah with Athaliah (cf. Morgenstern, "Chronological Data of the Dynasty of Omri," *JBL* LIX [1940], 385-396, and in particular pp. 393-396).

Eventually, however, so it seems also, they had reached agreement and perfected the terms of their alliance, and were now planning to confirm the alliance in traditional manner by the marriage of Menahem with the princess of Tyre, the daughter of this Tyrian king-god. And plainly too, the consideration which necessitated the divorce by Menahem of his first wife was that this Tyrian princess might fill the role of queen of Judah and sit beside her royal husband upon the throne.

Some corroboration of this conclusion may be found in Ps. 45. This psalm is unique in many respects. It is obviously an epithalamium, a psalm of lyric character which celebrates the marriage of some king of Israel or of Judah with a Tyrian princess. Scholars have variously identified this king with Solomon, Ahab, Jehoram, Jehu, Jerobeam II, Hezekiah, the Messianic king, Aristobul I, and, finally, Demetrius, the Syrian king, at whose marriage Jonathan, the brother of Judah Maccabee, was present. Mowinckel interprets the psalm as of prophetic character and as therefore not referring to any specific historic event or personality. Barnes suggests that the psalm commemorates the marriage of the city of Jerusalem to its king. Quite recently<sup>54</sup> Gaster has interpreted this psalm, and this too quite persuasively, as composed for the marriage of no king whatsoever, and especially for that of no particular king of either Israel or Judah, but rather as a poem celebrating the marriage of an ordinary Israelite bride and bridegroom. In support of his argument he stresses the fact that "in the Near East, as elsewhere, it is a common convention to treat a bridal couple as royalty." Not only does this wide range of interpretation and identification reveal the desperation of the commentators in determining what particular king, if any, is the central figure of Ps. 45, but it indicates also that, for cogent reasons, not a single one of these identifications seems to satisfy.

Actually of this long list of kings the only one of whom it is known definitely that he married a Tyrian princess is Ahab. But that Ahab cannot be the king in question here is established by the fact that, as has been said already, the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel seems to have been contracted before Ahab's throne-ascension and while he was still only crown prince. In such case the negotiations for his marriage with the Tyrian princess would certainly not have been conducted by Ahab himself, but rather by his father, Omri, in furtherance of his far-visioned international policies. But in Ps. 45 the king is already functioning in the royal office; and in Mal. 2.10-16 the

<sup>54</sup> "Psalm 45," *JBL* LXXIV (1955), 239-251.

king conducts his own negotiations for the hand of the Tyrian princess.

Within Ps. 45 one detail of the total picture is of particular interest. The psalm describes graphically the ceremonies of welcome for the princess as she is brought in elaborate wedding procession before her royal husband-to-be. V. 13 designates her specifically as Tyrian, therefore as a princess of Tyre. She is, of course, richly clad and is attended by a train of bridesmaids. The king awaits her coming, while at his right hand stands the *šegal*,<sup>55</sup> the queen, or perhaps here merely the royal concubine or the second wife, adorned with ornaments of purest gold. This figure of the *šegal* and the role which she seems to be playing constitute a most surprising and perplexing detail in the picture. Ordinarily the king might be expected to have numerous concubines, forming the royal harem; but they would scarcely play any particular role, such as this, at the marriage of the king with a foreign princess, who was obviously destined to fill the role of the king's chief wife, in other words to be regarded as the queen. The facts that here only the *šegal* is mentioned, and that she plays a part of seemingly more than passing importance are certainly not without significance.

We bethink ourselves immediately of the peculiar situation in Mal. 2.10-16, that of the king's first wife, "the wife of his youth," divorced, or about to be divorced, so that he might marry the foreign princess. Is it possible that this wife of the king's youth is the *šegal* of Ps. 45.10? Certainly if the plan of divorce was never carried through, or if the divorce was scheduled only to follow the marriage of the king with the Tyrian princess instead of being preliminary to it, or if perhaps Malachi was mistaken in his assumption that the Judaeen king was planning to divorce this "wife of his youth" in order to marry the Tyrian princess, and that all that was actually contemplated in the compact between the two kings was, and this too perhaps even with the consent of the Judaeen king's first wife, that he marry this Tyrian princess also and elevate her to the position of chief wife, the queenship, while she, the faithful and devoted "wife of his youth," willingly accepted demotion to second rank. Under any of these conditions, whichever may have been the actual one, the term *hašegal* would certainly fit the first wife very aptly. And the very fact that the psalm speaks of only this one *šegal* suggests, what Mal. 2.10-16 also

<sup>55</sup> For שגל we should probably read השגל, just as in Neh. 2.6. The article, ה, was lost, probably by haplography with the final letter of the word immediately preceding. This emendation is confirmed by the fact that all the versions render the word as "the queen."

seems to imply, that this "wife of his youth" was the only wife whom the Judaeen king had had up to that very moment of contemplated marriage with the Tyrian princess, that he had maintained no harem, and that he and his first, native, Jewish wife had been close companions and understanding comrades indeed, as v. 14b clearly states. And it may even be that, despite her extreme grief, which "covered the altar with tears," in her self-sacrificing devotion to her husband, and perhaps also in the discharge of what she may well have regarded as her duty to her people, this first wife had consented to relinquish the position of chief wife to the Tyrian princess and even to participate, difficult and grief-compelling though this must have been, in the ceremonies of welcome of the Tyrian princess. It would of course be the extreme expression of loving devotion and self-sacrifice; but it does accord completely with the sympathetic picture of the wife of the king's youth which Mal. 2.10-16 paints. These considerations lend strong support to the correlation of the marriage scene in Ps. 45 with the historic situation basic to Mal. 2.10-16 and to the identification of the *bat 'él nêkar* of Mal. 2.11 as a princess of Tyre.

In passing it may be noted that Ps. 45.3, 7 anticipate for the Judaeen king an eternal throne, i. e. one which his posterity will occupy forever, and likewise eternal blessing, i. e. the never-ending bestowal of divine favor. The full import of these ideas we will determine later and find in them further reason for identifying the king of Ps. 45 with Menahem. Likewise vv. 4, 6 seem to anticipate that this king will participate in military enterprises, and of course victoriously; and this too, we shall see, has import for this study.<sup>56</sup>

Returning now to the interpretation of Mal. 2.10-16; if then the *bat 'él nêkar*, "the daughter of a foreign god," be a Tyrian princess, destined to become the wife of a person of very high rank in Jerusalem, obviously then the king, it follows that her father, "the foreign god," must have been the king of Tyre, who, as we have learned, was regarded by his people and likewise regarded himself as the human embodiment of the Tyrian national deity. And in addition he must have been, as we have seen also, the very king of Tyre who is so

<sup>56</sup> Also v. 18 may imply that somewhere in the psalm in its original form the name of the king had actually been cited. But if so, then it has obviously been lost, either through purposed editorial suppression or else through textual corruption; for it must be recognized that the text of Ps. 45 is in an extremely corrupt state, quite comparable to that of Mal. 2.10-16, and that there are several passages within the psalm which seem to defy all attempts at textual emendation, and so remain untranslatable except by conjecture. However, fortunately this circumstance affects but slightly the understanding and interpretation of the psalm as a literary unit.

scathingly denounced in Ezek. 28.1-19. The realization of this fact fixes the historical setting of Mal. 2.10-16 definitively. Undoubtedly the speakers in v. 10, referred to by the first person plural, are the two kings, Menahem and this king of Tyre. As has been indicated, the actual beginning of the passage is lost and v. 10 plunges us suddenly into the heart of the two kings' discussion. The one king says to the other, "Have not we, i. e. you and I and all mankind, one Father; hath not one God created us all? Why then should we, i. e. we two kings, attempt to deceive or overreach one another and thus profane the covenant of our fathers?"

At last we are in position to determine the precise meaning of the expression, "the covenant of our fathers." Recognizing that the speakers are a king of Judah, a descendant of David and Solomon, and a king of Tyre, a descendant of that Hiram, king of Tyre, with whom David and Solomon stood in close and enduring covenant relations,<sup>57</sup> it follows that David, Solomon and Hiram must be the "fathers" in question and that the covenant between them must be "the covenant of our fathers" here referred to. This consideration establishes with practical certainty the correctness of our assumption that the two parties to this discussion were the king of Judah and the king of Tyre, and also that the theme of their discussion, or at least one important detail thereof, was the marriage of the former with the daughter of the latter. Unquestionably this marriage was designed for political purposes, to cement the relations between the two peoples or nations, particularly the relations of commercial cooperation, upon which the economic prosperity of the two nations, but particularly of Judah, were so largely dependent.<sup>58</sup>

This consideration enables us to supply, though only by conjecture, and therefore with corresponding reservation, one additional important detail of the historic situation which we are reconstructing. We have seen that in the conquest and destruction of the little Jewish community in Palestine the Edomites were particularly ruthless and that they were animated by a strong desire for revenge, obviously for some wrong which Judah must have wrought upon them. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that this wrong must have been committed quite recently for the desire for revenge to express itself so actively and savagely. What this wrong may have been we can only guess, for there are absolutely no records nor indications thereof; but the guess is not at all difficult. The economic self-sufficiency and prosperity of

<sup>57</sup> II Sam. 5.11; I Kings 5.15-25; 9.11-13.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Amos Studies*, 183-215 (*HUCA* XV [1940], 59-91).



Judah depended primarily upon its control of Akaba, at the northern end of the northeast finger of the Red Sea, and the diversion there of the traffic which came from Southern Arabia up the ancient Spice Route along the Arabian coast of the Red Sea to Akaba, and from there passed onwards, under normal conditions, along the short route through Edom, Moab, Ammon and Gilead, the so-called "King's Highway," to Damascus. Ordinarily this commerce did not touch Judah or Israel nor reach Tyre. Rather Damascus was its goal. But with Judahite kings in control of Akaba this commerce could be readily diverted away from the eastern route and Damascus to follow the longer western route through Judah and Israel and on to Tyre as its ultimate market. In the pre-Exilic period, so long as either the United Kingdom, under David and Solomon, or, after the division thereof, the Southern Kingdom held Akaba, or Ezion Geber, as the place was then called, in possession, and relations of close alliance and commercial cooperation with Tyre were maintained, both Judah and Israel prospered, while the economic advantage of Tyre also was commensurate. When control of Akaba passed from Judah to the Edomites and the commerce from South Arabia began to flow northward once again along the "King's Highway" to Damascus, the political and economic fortunes of both Israel and Judah sank to a low state, while Tyre too was correspondingly disadvantaged.

We may readily surmise therefore that while Menahem, naturally well informed as to this ancient and important source of economic and political stability for his country, was, during the months, or perhaps even during the year or more, preceding his actual anointment as king, maturing his plan of rebellion and recovery of political independence, he gave ample thought to his nation's political and economic future. It is not at all improbable therefore that he initiated, and that too fairly early, negotiations with the king of Tyre, directed to the all-important end of reviving the old relations between Tyre and Israel of the days of Hiram, David and Solomon, or, under the Divided Kingdom, between Tyre, Israel and Judah during the reigns of Ittobaal of Tyre, Omri and Ahab of Israel and Jehosaphat of Judah, of course with the expectation of regaining control of Akaba and thus restoring the commercial life of his kingdom and renewing its economic and political stability. Obviously too this program envisaged the speedy and complete control, not merely of Akaba, but also of Israel to the north all the way to the Phoenician border, to the end that the all-essential trade-route might thus be brought once again under complete Judaeo-Phoenician sway. It was undoubtedly this politico-commercial program which the discussions with the Tyrian king,



obviously held in Jerusalem, were designed to promote, and which the treaty between the two kings, the revival of the ancient alliance between their now remote ancestors, "the covenant of our fathers," was to support. This treaty was, in turn, to be cemented, in conformity with the traditional, international political procedures of the ancient Near East, by the marriage of this king of Judah with the daughter of this Tyrian king. We now have before us very clearly the complete historic background of Mal. 2.10-16.

Moreover, it is not at all improbable that even before these negotiations had begun, or else almost immediately thereafter, as the first, indispensable step in the program thus formulated by the two kings, this king of Judah, supported by his ardent nationalistic followers, had actually attempted to wrest Akaba from the Edomites, of course by force of arms, and that in so doing he may have inflicted much harm upon the Edomite country and its people, sufficient to arouse their deep resentment and implacable hatred and desire for revenge. It is also not at all impossible that, in his ambition to restore the ancient empire of David, an integral part of his complete program, as we shall see in due time, he had also made a similar attack upon the Philistines in order to gain control of the even more important trade-route which leads from Egypt northward along the Philistine coast to both Tyre and Damascus and to the lands to the north and east beyond. Such an attack would, of course, have aroused the vindictive hatred of the Philistines also and their burning thirst for vengeance upon Judah, of which Ezek. 25.15-17 speaks.

Likewise the assumption of some such politico-commercial program on the part of this king of Judah would account adequately for the participation in the war upon Judah of the nations somewhat more remote, whose territories were not immediately contiguous to Judah, the Moabites and Ammonites, and even the Bedouin tribes of the Syrian Desert, whose contacts with civilization must have been then, just as now, in the main through Damascus, and who in all likelihood even had a fairly important part in the caravan traffic from Akaba northward along "the King's Highway." Diversion of this commerce away from this route to that to the west, through Judah and Israel and onward to Tyre, would have damaged the economic well-being of these lands and peoples in no small measure and would also have seriously threatened their political stability. Their ready participation in the coalition against Judah is therefore easily comprehended.

The historic background of the picture is being rapidly filled in. That the two parties to the discussion recorded in Mal. 2.10 were the king of Judah and the king of Tyre, and that the daughter of the

latter was the *bat 'el nêkar*, "the daughter of a foreign god," of v. 11 and the Tyrian princess of Ps. 45, and that the contemplated marriage between her and the king of Judah was the theme of this psalm can scarcely be questioned any further.

We are now prepared to interpret the entire Mal. 2.10-16 passage. It records the negotiations between the king of Judah and the king of Tyre and the prophet's reactions thereto. The negotiations are being conducted in Jerusalem. The king of Tyre must have come thither, no doubt upon the invitation of the Judaeen king, for this purpose. Measured by the universalistic concept of Yahweh as the one world-God, entertained by the prophet, the king of Tyre, even though a non-Jew, and despite his claim to be a god himself, was quite as accountable to Yahweh for his actions as was the king of Judah. Therefore the prophet, speaking of course in the name of Yahweh, but of Yahweh as the one, universal God, could hold the king of Tyre just as responsible for the "abominable act" which was about to be performed, and could denounce him almost as severely as he denounced the king of Judah.

Obviously the two kings are sitting in conference and negotiating the terms of their covenant or treaty. Presumably they had previously offered sacrifices in the Temple as the preliminary to the solemnization of the covenant. As has been said, the beginning of this prophetic utterance has apparently been lost, for the portion we have opens suddenly and with matters well under way. One of the two kings, though which one we cannot be certain, but probably the king of Judah, by insinuation accuses the other of treacherously planning to overreach his partner in the treaty and thus, in some undisclosed manner, betray their agreement. Accordingly he argues, and the words sound more genuine and cogent in the mouth of the Judaeen king, reared in an atmosphere of universalistic faith, than in that of the king of Tyre, "Why should either of us attempt to deceive and disadvantage the other, since not only are we brothers, children of one and the same divine Father, but also we should act in conformity with the pattern of the ancient covenant of our fathers, David and Solomon on the one side and Hiram on the other?"

Although the prophet may have been well informed as to the course which the negotiations between the two kings were taking and what the secret purposes of each may have been, he could hardly have sat in at their conference and known their actual words and arguments. Certainly therefore the words of v. 10 were not actually spoken by either king, but rather were conceived by the prophet and put into the mouth of one of them, and, as has just been said, more

probably the king of Judah, in order to further the prophet's purpose. For certainly the prophet uses the thought and also the words of v. 10 as a text for his denunciation of the two kings and of the covenant or treaty which they are negotiating. In particular he seizes upon the word, *bagad*, which he has put into the speaker's mouth, and turns it directly upon the two kings, but particularly upon the king of Judah. His argument is this: You say, why should we, in negotiating this treaty between ourselves and our two nations, even as did our fathers before us some five centuries back, deal treacherously with one another? But how can a treaty or a covenant, which is itself based upon and is to be inaugurated by an act of faithlessness and treachery, find stability? Judah and Tyre together, i. e. the two kings, are contemplating a definite act of faithlessness and treachery as the very preliminary of their covenant, and something hateful and abominable to Yahweh is about to be done in Jerusalem; for Judah, i. e. the Judaeen king, would profane something which is sacred in Yahweh's eyes, namely the marriage relationship, and would divorce the loyal "wife of his youth" in order to marry the daughter of this foreign king-god. This prompts the prophet to call down upon Menahem an imprecation of utmost severity: May Yahweh cut off all posterity from him who would do this thing! May he have no child to succeed him upon the throne nor descendants to perpetuate his dynasty! The full force of this curse we will appreciate in due time.

The prophet continues: And not this alone, but a second abominable thing ye do; ye cover the altar with tears, so that Yahweh can no longer turn in good will to the altar nor accept with favor the sacrifice which ye offer. And if ye ask, why should this be so, the answer is because Yahweh Himself intervenes to bear testimony between thee, O King of Judah, and the wife of thy youth, whom thou dost betray, and this despite the fact that through all these years she has been thy true mate and thy faithful wife. Very much is implicit in these words. Apparently neither the Judaeen king nor his first wife were still young at this time, for otherwise she would hardly have been described as the wife of his youth and his faithful comrade, his life partner. It follows then that this rebellion was not the irresponsible undertaking of a wilful, impetuous, hair-brained youth. If we may assume that this king was approximately fifty years of age at this time, and this seems not unreasonable, since this king, although no longer young, still regarded himself as capable of begetting children, he had in all likelihood participated in some measure in the Zerubabel rebellion of some thirty or more years earlier, and may even, as a scion of David, and therefore as a close relative, and perhaps even a

son, of Zerubabel, as has already been suggested, have regarded himself through all these years of waiting as the natural continuator of the Davidic family and tradition and therefore the destined leader of the next rebellion.

One further matter of significance seems to emerge from the otherwise textually hopelessly corrupt and therefore almost incomprehensible v. 15, namely that this marriage with "the wife of his youth" had been childless; and of course for a king who was looking forward to the perpetuation of his dynasty, childlessness was an extreme misfortune, and certainly one which should be corrected, if at all possible. Conceivably this circumstance of childlessness had been put forward as a justification for this divorce. Certainly, as the prophet states, the first wife had been a faithful and devoted consort, who loved her husband dearly, and the prospect of divorce from him had quite naturally grieved her sorely. Seemingly she had even visited the Temple to pour out her sorrow before Yahweh in much the same manner as did Hannah;<sup>59</sup> and not at all improbably the prophet had taken note thereof. Accordingly he denounces the procedure of the king, employing the very strong verb, *bagad*, "to betray," the same verb which he had put into the mouth of the Judaeen king to describe the treachery which the king of Tyre seemed to be contemplating, as marital faithlessness and betrayal.<sup>60</sup> To this he adds the climactic thought, that divorce is, in principle, hateful, even an abomination,<sup>61</sup> to Yahweh. And he argues: How can a covenant, the antecedent of which is marital faithlessness, be faithfully enforced by both parties and achieve its purpose? He seems to argue further, that the king of Tyre, in negotiating this marriage, with the indispensable condition that his daughter, the Tyrian princess, must be recognized as the actual wife of the Judaeen king, therefore as the true Judaeen queen, and her anticipated offspring as the natural heir to the Judaeen throne and continuator of the royal dynasty, a situation which necessitates the divorce of the first wife, is, almost equally with the Judaeen

<sup>59</sup> I Sam. 1.8 ff.

<sup>60</sup> For בָּגַד with the connotation, "to be faithless to the marital partner," cf. Ex. 21.8; Jer. 3.8, 11, 20; 9.1; Hos. 5.7.

<sup>61</sup> For evidence that institutions and conduct which were regarded as hateful unto Yahweh were, in the early post-exilic period, regularly designated as חֲזָקָה, "abomination," cf. Deut. 12.31; Jer. 44.4; Amos 6.8 and Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant" II, *HUCA* VII (1930), 154, note 196; cf. also Isa. 1.13 f.; Ps. 119.163; Prov. 6.16. From this it follows once again that the "abominable act" which was about to be done in Jerusalem, of Mal. 2.11, the act of betrayal which the king of Judah was about to perform, was this divorce of his first wife, a procedure which, so v. 16 says explicitly, was hateful to Yahweh.

king, a party to the treachery, and therefore in the sight of Yahweh equally culpable.

And then the prophet concludes his denunciation of the two kings with the strong warning: Let him not betray the wife of his youth,<sup>62</sup> for, speaking now as the mouthpiece of the Deity, "I hate divorce, sayeth Yahweh, and the spreading of violence upon one's own (marriage-)garment. So guard yourselves scrupulously in the fulfillment of the terms of your covenant, so that you betray not one another."

Such was the prophet's message to the two kings. Its historic setting and its full import are now perfectly clear. And here the question naturally arises: What was the effect of the prophet's message? Or, assuming that the two kings may well have disregarded the prophet's denunciation of them, or, more probably, had not even heard of it, what was the actual outcome of the historic situation with which the prophet was attempting to deal in the name of Yahweh? Was the first wife actually divorced, and was the marriage of the Judaeen king with the Tyrian princess really consummated? And did the covenant between the two kings become effective; and, if so, what was its outcome?

We cannot answer any of these questions definitively, for the evidence is meager and indecisive. Yet what evidence there is points strongly in the direction of a negative answer to all these questions. Apparently the plan of divorce, at least as Malachi had understood it, was not carried through,<sup>63</sup> and, with an even greater measure of certainty, the marriage with the Tyrian princess was not solemnized, and the negotiations for a covenant between the two kings and the two nations failed completely. This is the unmistakable import of the fact that Tyre was reckoned among the hostile nations which participated in the coalition against, and brought this dire catastrophe upon, Judah, and was unquestionably the chief agent in the sale of captive Jews to the Greeks after the catastrophe had reached its sorrowful climax. This is also the implication of the bitter denunciation of this same king of Tyre in Ezek. 28.1-19. But with this unfavorable outcome of the negotiations between Menahem and the king of Tyre, it follows necessarily that something must have happened to cause them to founder, and that too rather quickly, even before the Judaeen king's divorce from the faithful wife of his youth had been carried

<sup>62</sup> These words suggest that the divorce was still only contemplated, but not yet actually executed.

<sup>63</sup> As has been suggested, the role of the *šegal* in Ps. 45.10 seems to point to this conclusion.



through and his marriage with the Tyrian princess had been performed.<sup>64</sup>

Just what this may have been it is not at all difficult to imagine. Despite the prophet's warning, which, as has been intimated, even if they knew of it, the two kings probably disregarded completely, the king of Tyre at least seems to have persisted in his endeavor to deceive and defraud the Judaeen king. The realization of this and of the hopelessness of the contemplated program of treaty relations may well have brought the latter to terminate the negotiations. The proof of the duplicity of the king of Tyre may be found of course in the fact that within what must have been a relatively short time after these negotiations had been broken off Tyre was aligned with the hostile nations in the coalition against Judah. There was, so far as can be seen, no positive reason for Tyre to so align itself other than the failure of these negotiations and also the opportunity for commercial advantage which the king of Tyre beheld in the rapidly evolving international situation. That this particular king of Tyre regularly lost no opportunity to advantage himself and his people, and this with complete disregard of ethical considerations, is amply attested by Ezek. 28. In fact vv. 15-18 of this chapter may even contemplate this very betrayal of the Judaeen king. Moreover, Ezek. 27.13 records that Tyre was, at least upon occasion, a trafficker in human beings, i. e. of course slaves.

There is actually one Biblical passage which refers even more specifically to this act of treachery on the part of this very king of Tyre. It is noteworthy that in Mal. 2.10 the two kings address each other as "brother." This was in complete conformity with a practice current in the ancient Near East. Kings whose mutual relations were those of good will, and especially of close alliance, were wont to address each other in this manner. In particular I Kings 9.13 records that Hiram and Solomon conformed to this custom,<sup>65</sup> and so likewise and quite naturally their descendants, Menahem and the king of Tyre, while in the process of negotiating a treaty. With this fact in mind we can now interpret correctly a passage which has troubled Biblical commentators not a little, Amos 1.9. This v. is generally regarded by present-day commentators as not from Amos himself,

<sup>64</sup> In which case of course the epithalamium in Ps. 45, composed, it is clear, in confident anticipation of the happy celebration of, and preparation for, this marriage, was premature and wasted.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. also I Kings 20.32 f. and Finkelscherer, "Der Gilead Vertrag," *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft für die Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1938, 39, note 141.



but rather as the work of some early post-exilic editor. The v. cites two specific transgressions of Tyre because of which its doom has been pronounced by Yahweh. The first of these transgressions is that of "delivering a complete captivity to Edom." This same transgression was actually ascribed by Amos, in a passage (1.6) genuine beyond all question, to the Philistines. Accordingly the ascription of the same crime to Tyre can be only the result of weak and almost slavish imitation of vv. 6-8, immediately preceding, and can have no real import other than to establish with certainty that this passage is not from Amos himself, but was interpolated into the original address of the prophet by some editor. And beyond all question this editor, in this denunciation of Tyre for having sold a large section of the people of Israel into captivity,<sup>66</sup> must have had in mind the sale of Jewish captives in vast numbers to the Greeks and other foreign peoples by the Tyrians in 485 B. C.

The second transgression of Tyre, because of which, so this interpolated passage affirms, it must, by divine decree, be destroyed, is that "they did not remember the covenant of brothers." This "covenant of brothers," which, so this passage implies, was disregarded and violated by Tyre, could not have been that between David and Solomon on the one side and Hiram on the other, nor yet that between Omri and Ahab, kings of Israel, and Ittobaal of Tyre, for both these treaties of alliance seem to have been observed quite scrupulously by both parties, and therefore to have remained in effect for relatively long periods. It can refer therefore to only this particular treaty between Menahem and his prospective father-in-law. It implies clearly, what we have already inferred, that it was the king of Tyre who betrayed the Judean king, rather than the reverse. Obviously the author of Mal. 2.10-16 was quite well informed as to the course which the negotiations between the two kings were taking when he charged them so strongly not to betray each other.

The reason for the defection of the king of Tyre we can only guess. Perhaps he had come to realize that Menahem and the Jewish people were undertaking far more than they could fulfill, and that consequently alliance with Judah would in the long run prove costly and even dangerous to himself and his people. Probably too Judah's attempt to take Akaba from the Edomites, assuming that our assumption with regard to this step is correct, failed completely; and without control of Akaba the entire program of the economic rehabilitation of

<sup>66</sup> Note that *le'edom* in v. 9 is superfluous and disturbing of the meter, and is therefore obviously a late gloss in this in itself late and secondary passage.

Judah and the restoration of active, cooperative commercial relations between Judah and Tyre, to the mutual advantage of both states, was doomed to failure. Or it may be that the king of Tyre was induced in some manner by the coalition of countries hostile to Judah, perhaps by the very promise of rich traffic in Judaeans captives after the conquest should have been completed, to turn from Judah and cast in his lot with them. Be all this as it may, the fact now seems established beyond question that the negotiations between the two kings came entirely to naught and that the marriage of Menahem with the Tyrian princess was never consummated, due chiefly, if not entirely, to the duplicity of the king of Tyre.<sup>67</sup> Quite probably too therefore Menahem's divorce of "the wife of his youth" was not executed.

This accumulation of evidence from many directions establishes beyond all possibility of doubt that this rebellion of the Jewish people against Persia in 486 B. C., at the time of Xerxes' ascension of the Persian throne, was planned and carried through, so far as it went, under the leadership of a native, Jewish king. And even though not absolutely assured, the meager evidence available seems to indicate that the name of this king was Menahem. Whether this was his true, personal name, given to him at birth, or was assumed by him as his official, royal name at the moment of his anointment and active assumption of the kingship, as was the not uncommon practice of his ancestors, the kings of Judah of the Davidic line, we are not in position to determine with certainty. The meager evidence available suggests that the latter hypothesis is the more probable.

As we have learned, Lam. 4.20 records the fact that this Judaeans king was taken prisoner by his enemies. The language seems to imply that he fled from Jerusalem, presumably when he perceived that his cause was lost, and that he was hotly pursued and captured. And knowing the intensity of the desire of the enemies of Judah, and particularly of the Edomites, for vengeance for some presumptive act of hostility done to them by the Jewish people under the leadership of this king, we can readily imagine what his fate at the hands

<sup>67</sup> It may well be too that popular opinion in the post-exilic era did not approve of the marriage of a king of the Davidic line with a foreign woman. It is significant that post-exilic, Deuteronomistic historiographers have carefully recorded the names of the mothers of all the Judaeans kings (I Kings 14.21, 31; 15.2, 10; 22.42; II Kings 8.26; 12.2; 14.2; 15.2, 33; 18.2; 21.1, 19; 22.1; 23.31, 36; 24.8, 18; II Chron. 13.2) and in so doing stressed the fact that of all of them only Rehobeam and Ahaziah, the son of Jehoram, were born of women of other than Judahite origin. They emphasize particularly that Ahaziah was the son of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab (so II Kings 8.18; v. 26 of the same chapter makes her a daughter of Omri, i. e. no doubt a member of the family of Omri), and that she it was who counselled him in his evil ways.

of these implacable foes must have been. Unquestionably they put him to death, and this, it may be assumed with reasonable certainty, only after subjecting him to all manner of indignities, and even to torture. This is the unmistakable implication of Ps. 89.39-46, 50-52, the theme of which passage is the sad fate of this anointed one, this king of Judah. Vv. 42 f., 46, 51 f. in particular suggest that just this and naught else was the tragic end of this aspiring but misguided scion of David. But of this more in due time.

---

But here quite naturally a challenging question confronts us. In 520 B. C., when the Zerubabel rebellion was initiated, the Jewish community of Judaea was small, poor and politically insignificant. Following his conquest of Judah in 586 B. C., Nebuchadnezzar had not only carried off into exile in Babylonia an important section of the people, practically all of them city-dwellers, but he had likewise laid many of the Judaeian cities in ruins. As a result, the people at large, consisting now in the main of the former rural population, reverted to a predominantly agricultural economy. During the sixty-odd years following the Babylonian conquest these Jewish farmers seem to have gradually adjusted themselves to their changed circumstances and even to have begun, despite, towards the close of this period, an apparent succession of poor, annual crops,<sup>68</sup> to prosper in a modest way. Haggai<sup>69</sup> pictures them as dwelling, at least in considerable part, in ceiled houses, and he certainly regarded them as well able, from a material standpoint, to undertake the reconstruction of the Temple.

Actually, however, numerically they were only a very small, in fact a practically insignificant, people, with no military nor political potential whatsoever. What considerations then could have suggested, and this too manifestly with strong and infectious conviction, to them, or at least to their spokesmen, such as the prophets Haggai and Zechariah,<sup>70</sup> and no doubt others as well, who sought to persuade them to positive and decisive action, that they were, as a people, as Yahweh's own people, destined by Him to regain political independence, and this too very soon, to reestablish the old United Kingdom,<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Hag. 1.6, 9-11; Zech. 8.10-13.

<sup>69</sup> 1.4.

<sup>70</sup> The latter during the brief, initial period of his prophetic ministry, which preceded the end of the Zerubabel rebellion.

<sup>71</sup> For the confident anticipation of Yahweh's restoration of exiled Israel as well as of Judah and His reunification of the two kingdoms current during this period

to once again place a descendant of David upon the throne, and even to overthrow the mighty Persian world-empire and to set up in its stead a Jewish world-empire, one which would endure forever, with its Davidic king, Yahweh's "anointed one," now functioning as the continuator of a divinely chosen, never-ending, eternal dynasty, in other words as world-sovereign? That these manifestly extravagant hopes were eagerly and confidently cherished by at least a certain section of the little Jewish community of Judaea, that section which we have designated the Nationalist party, and that this party inaugurated both the unsuccessful Zerubabel rebellion in 520-519 B. C. and the second, the catastrophic, rebellion in 486-485 B. C., is readily manifest. Now what circumstances, what considerations, what historic events could have animated this little people, or at least the Nationalist party within it, to such a lofty, fantastic vision, faith and hope?

The answer to this question will not only clarify the program and action of the Nationalist party with regard to both rebellions but it will also pave the way to a proper understanding of the history of the Jewish people subsequent to 485 B. C., and especially of the development of Judaism, and that too in both its normative and its sectarian forms. But, as can be readily understood, the investigation of these vital matters will lead quite far afield and will accordingly necessitate the suspension for a time of further consideration of the tragic event of 485 B. C., particularly as to its motivating forces and also its ultimate effects. This determination of the antecedents of this catastrophe must begin with a careful, searching examination of the writings and message of Deutero-Isaiah and the influence of this exalted prophet upon the thoughts, beliefs, programs and activities of the generations who came after him. Quite naturally that is a study in itself altogether distinct from the consideration of the national catastrophe of 485 B. C. We must accordingly put aside, for a time, further consideration of this sad event and direct our attention to the specific and in itself very significant task of defining the precise message of Deutero-Isaiah, and that too in its sequential unfolding, its total content, and its potent influence upon the thought, belief and program of the Jewish people for a long period thereafter.

*(To be continued)*

cf. Ezek. 37.1-14; 15-28; 39.23-29; Zech. 8.13; 10.6-12, and also Rosenau, "Ezekiel 37.15-28 — What Happened to the Ten Tribes," *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume* (1925), 79-88.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE

It may be helpful, and perhaps even scientifically useful, to list here in systematic order those Biblical passages which have, in one way or another, so we have determined in the course of this study, some bearing upon the great catastrophe which befell Jerusalem in 485 B. C. The precise dating and consequent interpretation of many of these passages have hitherto been regarded as more or less uncertain and have even been the object of a widely divergent range of opinion among authoritative scholars. Now it follows with practical certainty that each of these passages must be dated definitively at some particular moment in the life of the little Jewish community of Judaea coincident with or subsequent to the tragic event itself, and must be interpreted in relationship to it.

Num. 26.16-24

Deut. 23.3-9

Isa. 34; 49.13; 51; 52.9; 54.11; 60.4, 8-22; 63.1-6; 63.15-64.11; 66.13

Jer. 10.25; 14.7-9, 19-21; 49.1-22

Ezek. 21.33-37; 25; 27-28; 35.1-36.15

Joel 2.15-17, 19b; 4.2b<sup>3</sup>-8, 19-20

Amos 1.11-12; 9.11-12

Obad. 1-21

Micah 4.8-14

Mal. 1.2-5; 2.10-16

Ps. 2; 20; 21; 23; 25; 31; 44; 45; 48.5-8; 60 (=108); 74; 79; 80; 83; 89.4-5, 19-52; 106; 109; 137.7-9; 143

Lam., the entire book (though certainly not a literary unit, the work of a single author)

While in the list of passages from the Book of Isaiah in several instances only a single verse is cited, viz. 49.13; 52.9; 54.11; 66.13, it is possible to establish, and that with not too great difficulty and with reasonable certainty, that each of these single verses is a part of a prophetic address of considerable length, each of which deals with the after-effects of the catastrophe and must therefore be later than 485 B. C. This is of course not the place to develop this theme in detail. However, it may be stated here in summary manner that three of these addresses, all of course Trito-Isaianic, would be Isa.49.8-26 (with the omission of 8b<sup>a</sup>, 9-11, 13 and some textual rearrangement and reconstruction); 52.1-12 (supplemented by 40.1-5, 9-11); 54.11-17. 66.13 seems to be a misplaced fragment of some address, probably one earlier in the book. Its original location, however, I have not yet succeeded in determining.

It should be noted also that two of the psalms listed above, the dating and import of which have long been the object of serious, scholarly controversy, viz. Ps. 2 and 45, can now be dated precisely to the days immediately preceding the autumnal equinoctial New Year's Day of 486 B. C.





## TWO GREEK WORDS IN THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM ARAMAIC PAPYRI

REUVEN YARON, Jerusalem

IN TWO of the later of the Brooklyn Papyri, P. 9 (404 B. C.) and P. 12 (402 B. C.), there occur a number of words which have not so far been satisfactorily explained. It is submitted that two of them can be traced in Greek. This will appear more plausible if we remember that in P. 12 reference is made to Greek money, a fact the importance of which is duly stressed by Kraeling (p. 40, 269).

P. 9 is a deed of gift of a half a house, given by Anani b. Azariah to his daughter Yehoyishma. In line 3 the donor says: *yhbth lky drymyy*. Kraeling translates: 'I have given it to thee as my *drmy*'; in his notes he remarks, 'the word must be a foreign one, perhaps Iranian, and mean a kind of gift.' It is submitted that this is the Greek δῶρημα.

In P. 12 Anani b. Azariah and his wife Tpm̄t sell a house to their son-in-law. In line 11 we read: *wt̄pm̄t 'ntth pr(d?)ypt zy mšlm br zkw̄r*, which Kraeling translates, 'and Tpm̄t his wife, *pr(d?)ypt* of Meshullam b. Zakhur.' A suggestion of H. L. Ginsberg (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 74, p. 161) bears on the question, which of the two possible readings, *pr̄ypt* or *p̄dypt*, ought to be preferred. He remarks that the 'document has two beginnings. After having written 9½ lines, the scribe erased the last half line and made an entirely fresh start'; and he suggests as one of the reasons for the fresh start that 'in the first beginning old Anani's wife Tamut (here spelled tpm̄t, as in no. 5) is described as *br̄t ptw* "daughter of Ptw." This is rather surprising, since Ptw, as can be seen from the editor's discussion on pp. 274-5, cannot very well be anything but a masculine proper name, and slaves such as Tamut had been — and under the terms of her deed of manumission (P. Brooklyn 5) still formally was if Meshullam's son Zakkur was still alive — have no patronymics. In the second beginning, however, Tamut is described as *pr̄ypt* of Meshullam bar Zakkur. Obviously, then (a) *pr̄ypt* means something like "freed-woman," and (b) *br̄t ptw* was at first misheard by the scribe for *pr̄ypt*'. So far Ginsberg.

If this suggestion about mishearing is accepted, then *pr̄ypt* must be the correct reading, as no one could mishear r for d. But Ginsberg's

view is not tenable, since at the end of the document, in line 33, Tpm̄t is again called *br̄t p̄tw*. A mistake necessitating the rewriting of the document would not be repeated at the end of the rewritten text.

It is submitted that *p̄dypt* is the correct reading and that it is derived from *παιδευτός*, a verbal adjective of *παιδεύω*, 'to educate,' 'to bring up.' We should therefore translate: 'And Tpm̄t his wife, who has been brought up by Meshullam b. Zakkur,' or, nearer to the construction in Aramaic, 'nursling of Meshullam b. Zakkur.'

The same derivative of *παιδεύω* occurs also in the Palestinian Talmud, Baba Bathra, VIII, 16b (at the bottom), in a passage of the third century C. E.: Here some young men are said to be *qqw-p̄dypty*, *κακο-παιδευτοι*, 'badly brought up,' 'ill-bred.' See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *p̄dypty*.

It might be objected that *παιδευτός*, in the sense of a passive participle 'brought up,' is not evidenced in Greek sources. To this there are four answers: Firstly, the meaning of *παιδευτός* attested by the Greek sources need not be exhaustive. Secondly, there are quite a few other verbs where the verbal adjective in *τος* is used as equivalent to a perfect passive participle. Thirdly, the interpretation of *παιδευτός* here proposed is supported not only by the passage from the Palestinian Talmud, but also by the occurrence, in Greek sources, of another derivative of *παιδεύω*, the verbal adjective *ἀπαιδευτος*, 'uneducated,' which has a passive meaning. Fourthly, if the use of *παιδευτός* here suggested is unorthodox, this can hardly be surprising in an Aramaic-speaking community.

An additional argument in favor of my explanation of *drymyy* and *p̄dypt* is that Greek influence, of a different kind, seems traceable in P. Brooklyn 10 (402 B. C.), written by the same scribe as the other two papyri under discussion. This document is ended by the following clause: *zn̄h spr̄ zy 'nh 'nny ktbt lky hw ysb* (line 16 f.), which Kraeling translates: 'This document, which I, Anani, wrote to thee is valid.'

No final clause comparable occurs in any other Aramaic papyrus or in the Babylonian documents. It is submitted that *spr̄ hw ysb* is the Aramaic rendering of the Greek *κυρία*-clause, an ending very common in Greek documents, both in Greece itself as also in the Greco-Egyptian papyri, where it occurs in many variations.<sup>1</sup>

A similar clause indeed occurs in the Talmud, but its dependence upon Greek law has already been pointed out by Gulak, *Das Urkundenwesen im Talmud*, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., Demost. *Contra Lacrit.*, 14; Dareste, *Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques*, vol. II, p. 62, line 9; P. Eleph. 1, line 13 f. For additional examples refer to Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *κύριος*.

It will perhaps be objected that all the evidence, in Greek sources, of the *κῦρία*-clause is posterior to the Brooklyn papyrus. Demosthenes' oration against Lacritus is about 65 years later, P. Eleph. 1, 91 years later. However, if we take into account (a) that the clause occurs only once in the Aramaic papyri, of which we now have quite a number; (b) that it is completely unknown to Babylonian law; (c) that it is very common in later Greek documents, then it seems reasonable to explain the relative lateness of the clause in Greek sources by the accidents of transmission. Generally our sources of early Greek law, mainly inscriptions, are rather poor.<sup>2</sup>

The penetration of the Greek language even into lower social strata at so early a date should be of interest to the historian of antiquity and especially to the Biblical scholar. Hitherto many have regarded the occurrence of Greek words as a compelling reason for assigning a text to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C. Now we have found Greek words in dated documents from the end of the 5th century.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Rabinowitz, *Jewish Law* (New York, 1956), p. 114 ff., also stresses the connection between the Greek *κῦρία*-clause and the Aramaic *ysb*-clause, but holds that the Aramaic is the original. Professor Rabinowitz's book appeared after this note had been submitted for publication, and I cannot at this stage join issue with him on the point.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Professor D. Daube for his advice.





# STUDIES IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF THE BOOK OF JOB

HARRY M. ORLINSKY

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, New York

## CHAPTER I.

### AN ANALYTICAL SURVEY OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

PERHAPS no Book in the Hebrew Bible has offered the student such perplexing textual problems as the book of Job. For one thing, the Hebrew text teems with words and passages which have defied convincing interpretation. To make matters worse, the version most helpful in the clarification of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, itself presents innumerable difficulties: (A) The Septuagint text of Job frequently lacks single stichoi and verses of the Hebrew text, and even groups of as many as 6 and 7 consecutive passages.<sup>1</sup> In total length the Greek version contains approximately but five-sixths of the masoretic text.<sup>2</sup> Which is closer to the original Hebrew text in length, the preserved Hebrew text or the Septuagint text?<sup>3</sup> (B) There

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., 21.28-33; 26.5-11; 28.14-19; 34.28-33; 39.13-18.

<sup>2</sup> G. Beer, in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*<sup>2</sup>,<sup>3</sup> at Job 1.1, notes that "1/5 fere huius libri G." See in the meantime J. Ziegler's comment on this in "Der textkritische Wert der Septuaginta des Buches Job," *Miscellaneis Biblicis* (Rome, 1934), Vol. II, 279, n. 1. Ziegler's "Cod. Dresd. A 170" (after Rahlfs' designation No. 161, in his *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, etc.* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Berlin, 1914) = "Codex 161 (Codex Bibl. Dresdensis, No. iii)" a scholium of which is cited by F. Buhl (*Canon and Text of the Old Testament* [Edinburgh, 1892], 130) to the effect that the LXX of Job "had 1600  $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\iota$ , but with the additions marked by asterisks, 2200  $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\iota$ "; Buhl relied on F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, etc. (2 vols., Oxford, 1875), I, Prolegomena, lxvi, bottom § 4, for this information.

<sup>3</sup> R. Gottheil, in his review of C. Siegfried's *The Book of Job in JQR*, Old Series, 6 (1893-94), 552-60, put it fairly (556 f.), "... the pre-Origen text of the LXX to Job ... contained several hundred verses less than the Hebrew *textus receptus*. It is true, the question as to the relation existing between the Masoretic and the original Septuagint is one of the most difficult of the many problems which confront the Old Testament critic. But it is a question that no one can afford to disregard entirely. . . Does it not seem that there were two recensions current in olden times —

are very many instances in which the Septuagint text does not appear to correspond to the masoretic Hebrew text. Scholars generally have tended either to ignore the Septuagint text at these points, or else to emend the Hebrew text in accordance with the Septuagint.

As early as the third century Origen had complained of the difference in length between the Septuagint and the Hebrew text, the former on occasions including passages which were lacking in the latter,<sup>4</sup> and the latter, in turn, on far more numerous occasions, possessing "often four or three verses, and sometimes fourteen or fifteen"<sup>5</sup> omitted in the translation.<sup>6</sup>

Both as scholar and as theologian Origen rebelled against this state of affairs. As scholar he felt that the Septuagint text was relatively unauthoritative alongside the Hebrew text where the two texts did not agree; and as a Christian he felt that the Christians were at a great disadvantage in arguing with the Jews: on the one hand, the Jews had at their disposal passages in the Hebrew text which were lacking in the Septuagint, and on the other hand, scorned to accept as evidence passages found in the Greek but absent in the Hebrew.<sup>7</sup>

To satisfy his scholarly and theological wants, Origen set himself the prodigious task of reconstructing the true text of the Septuagint

a longer and a shorter one? If it be possible, in a critical edition the Hebrew reconstruction of the shorter recension ought to find a place in a continuous note running below the Masoretic (or longer) recension. . ."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Epistola ad Africanum* (*Επιστολή προς Αφρικανόν*), ed. C. H. E. Lommatzsch (25 vols., Berolini, 1831-48), Vol. XVII, (1844), § 3 (pp. 23-4), where 1.5, 6, 7, 21; 42.17 are cited as examples.

<sup>5</sup> As E. Nestle cleverly showed (*ZAW*, 4 [1884], 249 f.), an original *καὶ ἐννέα καὶ ἕξ* (= 15 to represent the number 15, instead of π' which is graphically identical with the spelling of the Divine Name) was corrupted by a well-meaning but thoughtless scribe into *καὶ δεκαεννέα καὶ δεκάξ*, the present reading. A. Klostermann's emendation (*PRE<sup>3</sup>*, Vol. VIII, "Hiob," p. 100), *καὶ ἐξῆς*, is unconvincing. For J. Martianay's manner of getting around the difficulty in his Latin translation of the Greek text (on which see P. Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job* [Paris, 1926] p. CLIX, n. 4), see *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. XXIX, cols. 63 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Epistola ad Africanum*, § 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*, § 5; H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek<sup>2</sup>* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 59 ff. But Swete, p. 61, should not have attributed to Origen the notion that "... it was unfair to the Jew to quote against him passages from the LXX which were wanting in his own Bible . . .," when, in fact, Origen himself asserted, *τοιαύτης γὰρ οὔσης ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι, παρασκευῆς οὐ καταφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ' ὥς ἔθος αὐτοῖς γελάσονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πιστεύοντας, ὡς τ' ἀληθῆ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀγνοῦντας*, "for if we are so prepared for them in our discussions, they will not, as is their manner, scornfully laugh at Gentile believers for their ignorance of the true reading as they have them."

as best he could by a comparison of the best Septuagint manuscripts and most authoritative Greek versions with each other, and these in turn with the Hebrew text. In a monumental work, which later on came to be called "Hexapla,"<sup>8</sup> Origen arranged in parallel columns the following: (1) the current Hebrew text; (2) column 1 transcribed in Greek characters; (3) the Greek translation by Aquila; (4) the Greek translation by Symmachus; (5) the Greek text corrected by Origen with the aid of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion to agree as closely as possible with column 1. The corrections of the Greek text were made by adding to it what it failed to reproduce of the Hebrew, with due credit given to the source (in the case of Job the source was Theodotion), and by noting those passages in the Greek text for which the Hebrew had nothing, — each of these pluses and minuses being indicated by special signs<sup>9</sup>; (6) the Greek translation by Theodotion<sup>10</sup>; (7), (8) and (9), anonymous Greek translations, later called simply Quinta, Sexta and Septima in accordance with their relative position in the Greek columns (that is, excluding columns 1 and 2); sporadically there is reference also to translations made by "The Syrian" (ὁ Σύρος) and "The Hebrew" (ὁ Ἑβραῖος).

Origen's "corrections" are of little value to him who would regain the text of the Septuagint text of Job before it was revised, and thereby

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the terms employed for Origen's many-columned Bible, see my article "Origen's Tetrapla — A Scholarly Fiction?" in the Proceedings of the first *World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Summer, 1947), Vol. I (Jerusalem, 1952), 173–82.

<sup>9</sup> Origen himself described the process in *Epistola ad Africanum*, §§ 4–5, and especially in his Commentary on Matthew, ed. Lommatzsch, Vol. III, XV, § 14, p. 354. For the origin and use of the signs, see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*<sup>2</sup> (2 vols., Leipzig, 1911–13), II, 410–15; Field, I, LII–LXVII; Swete, 69–73; A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, II, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (Göttingen, 1907), 124 ff.; *Septuaginta I, Genesis* (Stuttgart, 1926), "Prolegomena," pp. 26–28; G. Mercati, *Nuove Note di Letteratura Biblica e Cristiana Antica (Studi e Testi, 95, Città del Vaticano, 1941)*, Chap. V, 135 ff.; J. Ziegler, *Isaias (Septuaginta Velus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum, Vol. XIV, Göttingen, 1939)*, 53 ff.; *Duodecim Prophetæ* (Vol. XIII, 1943), 63 ff.; *Ezechiel* (Vol. XVI, 1, 1952), 36 ff. The attempt by A. Sperber ("New Testament and Septuagint," *JBL*, 59 [1940], 193–293), to use these signs, the asterisk and obelus, to prove and reconstruct two different Septuagint Bibles, has convinced no one; the methodology and reasoning are beyond the canons of textual criticism.

<sup>10</sup> Although scholars still tend conventionally to date Aquila before Theodotion — following automatically their relative order in Origen's columned Bible — E. Schürer (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*<sup>3</sup> [3 vols., Leipzig, 1904–09], III, 442) and J. A. Montgomery (*ICC on Daniel*, 1927, 46 f.; *ICC on Kings*, 1951, 11) have made a strong case for the priority of Theodotion, and this view is supported by the columnar order of Origen's columned Bible; see further below, EXCURSUS A, at end of Chap 1.

discover its Hebrew prototype. For Origen made the basic mistake of taking for granted that the Hebrew text of his time was identical with the text as it left the hands of its authors, and that the Septuagint, whenever it differed from the current Hebrew text, was at fault. This error was perpetuated by scribes and Church Fathers who copied and accepted the revised, "hexaplaric" Septuagint, with the diacritical marks nearly always omitted. Most printed editions of the Septuagint of Job do not represent its original length.<sup>11</sup>

And yet too much has been made of the harm that Origen caused by this procedure. The fact is that the changes that he made in the Septuagint text in accordance with his Hebrew text, except for the pluses — which are nearly always recognizable — are relatively few and minor; and many of the changes introduced into the Septuagint text were made before the time of Origen. See the comments by M. L. Margolis in his monumental work on Joshua,<sup>12</sup> and by J. Ziegler in his superb editions of the Septuagint of Isaiah, the Minor Prophets and Ezekiel.<sup>13</sup> So far as the book of Job is concerned, several daughter

<sup>11</sup> So far as the length of the Greek text is concerned, Rahlfs' edition of Job in Vol. II of *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX Interpretes* (Stuttgart, 1935) marks off the "Theodotionic" passages by means of Origen's symbols as preserved in two Greek manuscripts, two Latin manuscripts and the Syro-Hexapla; the Copto-Sahidic version of the Septuagint simply did not preserve the "Theodotionic" passages. For a discussion of these manuscripts, see E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford, 1889), 215 ff.; A. Dillmann, "Textkritisches zum Buche Ijob," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (December, 1890), 1345-73; S. R. Driver-G. B. Gray, *International Critical Commentary on Job* (2 vols., 1921), I, Introduction, lxxi ff.; E. Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job* (Paris, 1926), CLX ff., CLXIV-CLXVIII.

The situation in the book of Proverbs, e. g., is less clear. According to C. T. Fritsch, "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs in the Syro-Hexaplar of Proverbs" (*JBL*, 72 [1953], 169-81) requires careful study: "... the Origenian signs cannot always be trusted. Mistakes in the use of these signs may have crept into the text [and sometimes the signs fell out from the text altogether] during the 400 years between the time of Origen and Paul of Tella, or they may have come about in the transmission of the text of (the) S(yro-) H(exaplar) after the time of Paul of Tella" (p. 179). Some additional material is analyzed by G. Zuntz, "Der Antinoe Papyrus der Proverbia und das Prophetologion" (*ZAW*, 68 [1956], 124-84).

<sup>12</sup> "Specimen of a New Edition of the Greek Joshua," in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (New York, 1927), §§ 12-13 on pp. 315-6. Numerous cases in point may be noted in the critical apparatus of Margolis' edition of *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (Parts I-IV, Paris, 1931-8). See also Montgomery, *ICC on Daniel*, 35 ff.; W. G. Lambert, *VT*, 2 (1952), 184-9; P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century" in *The Backgrounds of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (the C. H. Dodd volume), ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 192 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Isaia*s, "Die Beschaffenheit des hexaplarischen Textes," pp. 60-73; *Duodecim*

versions of Origen's hexaplaric text combine to make it possible to isolate with confidence the words and passages which Origen added to his Septuagint text in column 5 from the other columns (see above, nn. 8 ff.).

St. Jerome too recognized the "shortcomings" of the Septuagint text of Job. He was aware that in the current, Old Latin version, made from the Septuagint text, "septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt" in comparison with the "Hebrew truth" (*hebraica ueritas*), and he waxed enthusiastic over his achievement in raising Job from the refuse heap in which he had found himself because of this faulty Latin translation<sup>14</sup> to his proper lofty position among the other heroes of the Old Testament<sup>15</sup> by the simple medium of supplement-

*Prophetae*, 53 ff.; *Ezechiel*, 32 ff. Cf. also Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, I, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* (Göttingen, 1904), 73 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala* (= *Texts and Studies*, etc., ed. J. A. Robinson (Cambridge, 1896), 8, 32-34.; Swete, *Introduction*<sup>2</sup>, 100-101.

<sup>15</sup> For Jerome's high opinion of Job, cf. *Epistola ad Julianum*, ed. Vallarsii, I, 792-4; 745-7; *Epistola CVII Ad Laetam de Institutione Filiae*, § 12, "as for Job, let her follow the examples of (his) virtue and patience" (cf. F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, 1932, pp. 364-5, *In Job virtutis et patientiae sectetur*; or *Saint Jérôme, Lettres, Texte établi et traduit par Jérôme Labourt*, 5 vols. [Paris, 1949-55], Letter CVII in Vol. V, p. 156).

In general, Job would appear to have been highly regarded among the early Church authorities. Thus Origen (*De Principiis*, ed. C. and C. V. Delarue, *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Vol. II, cols. 312-3, Book III, Chap. II, §§ 6-7; cf. pp. 220-2 in *Origen on First Principles*, by G. W. Butterworth [London, 1936], and on the texts, Gustave Bardy, *Recherches sur l'Histoire du Texte et des Versions Latines du DE PRINCIPIIS d'Origène* (Lille, 1923)) blames the devil, not Job, for the impious utterances. The devil made him the means of temptation, Job being an innocent victim throughout. In some early liturgies Job is an object of admiration; cf. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Vol. XXIV, *Early Liturgies and Other Documents* (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. 154-6, "From Nicetas Bishop of Heraclea's Catena," on Job 24.7 (p. 156), "... For truly enviable, and, in my judgment, worthy of all admiration, a man is, if he has attained to such a degree of long-suffering as to be able with ease to grapple with the pain, truly keen, and not easily conquered by everybody, which arises from being wronged." Tertullian devoted most of his discussion "Of Patience" to Job (Chap. XVI): "Oh, happy also he who met all the violence of the devil by the exertion of every species of patience. . . How did God smile, how was the evil one cut asunder, while Job with mighty equanimity kept scraping off the unclean overflow of his own ulcer." To Epiphanius (the so-called *De mensuris et ponderibus*, ed. J. E. Dean [*Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures*, No. 11 in *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1935], p. 78 and n. 586 [in reference to Job 1.3 in the LXX]), "Job was exceedingly highborn." See in general the data collected on "Job" in Vol. II of L. Ginzberg's great compilation of *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1910; translated from the German manuscript by Henrietta Szold), pp. 223-42, and the notes in Vol. V (1925), pp. 381-90. The data culled from the



ing and correcting the Latin from Origen's hexaplaric Greek text.<sup>16</sup>

The first scholar in modern times to appreciate and to tackle the problem: Why was the pre-Origenian Septuagint text shorter than the preserved Hebrew text?, was G. Bickell, in 1862.<sup>17</sup> He realized that not only was the pre-Origenian Greek text of Job fully one-sixth shorter than the masoretic text, but that the former differed also in content from the latter on many occasions throughout the five-sixths that was reproduced. And the solution of the problem of length, he reasoned correctly, lay in an investigation of the relationship between the two texts, to discover why they differed so often in content.

Bickell found the chief reasons for the divergence to be as follows: (1) anthropomorphisms in the Hebrew text were paraphrased by the Septuagint translator, and offensive references to God were either modified or deleted<sup>18</sup>; (2) the translator was confused by the paleographic similarities of a number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet<sup>19</sup>; (3) the translator was eager to make his work as attractive as possible

Christian sources are frequently Jewish in origin; cf. Ginzberg, "Preface" to Vol. V, p. ix, "It is true that the Church Fathers sometimes sneeringly refer to the *fabulae Judaicae*, but more often they accept these *fabulae* and even refrain from betraying the source from which they drew them." See also Ginzberg's articles on "Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern," items 3, 4, 77, 84, 90 and 96 in the "Bibliography of the Writings of Prof. Louis Ginzberg" compiled by B. Cohen, pp. 19 ff. in the English Section of *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (New York, 1945). C. H. Gordon, "Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs," *JBL*, 49 (1930), 384-416 (a Doctoral Dissertation, reprinted separately).

G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint, I. The Book of Job* (Lund, 1946), pp. 53 ff., has reminded us that "It is to some extent a new Job that we encounter in the LXX. We discern a new feature which one looks for in vain in the Hebrew poet's portrayal: patient submission to God's discipline . . . Instead, the LXX introduce a new feature into the description of the Job figure: humility, patience . . . This picture of Job as the great sufferer, the martyr, runs through the ancient Christian literature . . . This is also the attitude of Job in ancient Christian art . . ." According to H. A. Fine, in a discussion of "The Tradition of a Patient Job" (*JBL*, 74 [1955], 28-32), "Honesty, not patience, is the real virtue of Job . . ." In his Presidential Address on "Men Against God: the Promethean Element in Biblical Prayer" (*JBL*, 72 [1953], 1-13), S. H. Blank of course makes reference to Job, and (in n. 25) to the discussions by E. Bussler, W. A. Irwin, and H. G. May. And P. Katz (in the C. H. Dodd volume, 1956), following Gerleman, mentions "The picture of Job in the N. T., the Fathers, and the arts, not as the Promethean rebel, but as the martyr hero, derives from the LXX, not from the Hebrew" (p. 202).

<sup>16</sup> Jerome, *Praefatio in librum Jobi*, ed. Valarsii, Vol. IX, 1097 f.

<sup>17</sup> *De Indole ac Ratione Versionis Alexandrinae in Interpretando Libro Jobi* (Marburg, 1862).

<sup>18</sup> *Idem*, § 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*, § 8.

to his readers, so that he was wont to paraphrase, add or curtail in translating<sup>20</sup>; (4) the tendency of the translator to prate "ut ne vestigia quidem harmoniae inter archetypum et versionem supersint"<sup>21</sup>; (5) misunderstanding or ignorance on the part of the translator<sup>22</sup>; and (6) errors, glosses, and changes made by scribes and critics as well as by the translator.<sup>23</sup>

On the basis of these observations, viz., that the translator paraphrased, changed, deleted and added whenever he deemed it necessary or was in the mood, Bickell drew the conclusion that the translator's theological beliefs, ignorance, and general irresponsibility were to blame for the difference in length also. It is only a case or two of what Bickell regarded as homoioteleuton<sup>24</sup> that saved our translator from complete disgrace.

Although Bickell's monograph, submitted originally as a doctoral dissertation, has remained to this day one of the outstanding analyses of the Greek-Hebrew problem of the book of Job, his conclusions are invalid. And this because he committed the fundamental error of assuming without justification the correctness of his premise, namely, that whenever they differ in content, it is the Greek, and not the Hebrew text, that is at fault. Upon this premise Bickell proceeded to build up various syllogisms: the translator was ignorant, he misunderstood the Hebrew, he paraphrased and prated unnecessarily, his theological bias intruded into the translation, and the like. These *a priori* opinions led Bickell inevitably to the conclusion that the translator was responsible for the divergence in length also. As a matter of fact, Bickell could just as readily have proved the contrary, viz., that the shorter Septuagint text is closer to the original in length than the longer Hebrew text, by assuming — just as impermissibly — that wherever the two texts differed in content it was the Hebrew text that was to blame. Causes for the difference could just as readily have been found.

No less untenable are Bickell's conclusions of thirty years later, when he categorically laid down the law that the poetical portion of the book of Job was composed essentially within the framework of the 3:3 meter.<sup>25</sup> The pre-Origenian, shorter Septuagint text, since it

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*, § 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem*, § 14.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, § 15.

<sup>23</sup> *Idem*, §§ 16, 19.

<sup>24</sup> *Idem*, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 6 (1892), 137-47, 241-57, 324-34; 7 (1893), 1-20, 153-68; 8 (1894), 121. See also his *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrice* (Oeniponte, 1882), 151-87; "Der ursprüngliche Septuagintatext des Buches

apparently fitted into this metrical system better than the Hebrew text, now became the favored one. Bickell did not attempt to disprove any of his previous arguments in favor of the priority of the Hebrew text.<sup>26</sup> Even more, wherever his metrical theory was threatened, Bickell did not refrain from emending the Septuagint as well as the Hebrew text.<sup>27</sup>

After a rather cursory examination of the relationship between the Hebrew and Septuagint texts, Merx<sup>28</sup> came to the conclusion that even if the Septuagint had been made from a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differed from the preserved Hebrew text, the translation was so unreliable that its use as a basis for the restoration of the original Hebrew text was automatically precluded. Merx clearly confused the problem of length with the problem of content. Furthermore, Merx had failed first to make an intensive study of the Septuagint *per se* to determine to what extent and in what manner its Hebrew *Vorlage* was different from the preserved Hebrew text, and it was but a gratuitous assumption on his part to deny in advance any value to the *Vorlage* whose character he had not bothered to determine.

Merx suggested further that the Hebrew manuscript used by the Septuagint translator<sup>29</sup> must have been faded in spots, and that the vocalization fixed by the Masoretes, to whom the traditional meanings of many words in our Book had not been transmitted, increased the differences between the two texts.

Job," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 10 (1886), 557 ff.; *Das Buch Job nach Anleitung der Strophik und der Septuaginta auf seine ursprüngliche Form zurückgeführt und im Versmasse des Urtextes übersetzt* (Wien, 1894); cf. also "Nachtrag zu Job" in *Kritischen Bearbeitung der Klagelieder* (Wien, 1894). In his review (*JQR*, O. S., 6 [1893-94], 552-60) of C. Siegfried's *The Book of Job* (Leipzig, 1893. In P. Haupt's so-called Polychrome Bible, *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, Part 17), R. Gottheil wrote (p. 556), "Anyone who has read carefully Dillon's translation ["The Original Poem of Job," *Contemporary Review*, 64 (July, 1893), 108-156] of Bickell's reconstruction can hardly fail to see that it reads well; it is clear and intelligible, not only in its individual sentences, but especially in the logical flow of the argument." But see S. R. Driver, n. 26 following.

<sup>26</sup> In "Sceptics of the Old Testament," *Contemporary Review*, 69 (February, 1896), 257-269, S. R. Driver noted that Bickell's leaning towards the Septuagint was as indefensible as Dillmann's spirited vindication of the masoretic text (see below), the former because many of the passages that he wished to delete from the Hebrew on the basis of the Greek made good sense, and the latter because it is inconceivable that any translator would omit several hundred lines.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Bickell, Chap. VI, p. 39.

<sup>28</sup> *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (Jena, 1871).

<sup>29</sup> Or the ancestor(s) of the Hebrew text used by the translator. See further below, the chapter dealing with The Hebrew Text Underlying the Septuagint of Job.

Eighteen years later Hatch published his solution of the problem of length.<sup>30</sup> Beginning with the hypothesis that "at a time subsequent to the first translation the original Hebrew text was amplified and . . . the original LXX text represents in the main, this original Hebrew," Hatch proceeded to "test its [the hypothesis'] truth, and its sufficiency as an explanation of the facts, by enquiring how far the passages which Origen inserted can be omitted without detriment to the argument of the poem."<sup>31</sup>

Aside from the fact that Hatch ignored the by no means insignificant differences between the pre-Origenian Septuagint and the corresponding Hebrew passages, his treatment could never result in any positive conclusions. For if the hypothesis did not work out satisfactorily, that is, if the deletion in the Hebrew text of those verses lacking in the pre-Origenian Septuagint proved detrimental to the argument of the poem, then the hypothesis was false. And if the contrary should prove to be the case, that is, if the Hebrew text ran as smoothly after as before the deletion of the passages which Origen inserted in his hexapalaric text, even then the hypothesis did not necessarily have to be accepted. For if "the [Hebrew] additions are in general harmony with the existing text . . . [and] were made . . . by a poet whose imaginative powers were at least not inferior to those of the original writer,"<sup>32</sup> then the objection could be advanced that our translator, meeting with Hebrew passages that added little or nothing to the argument of the Book, simply deleted them as superfluous material. And this argument could be demonstrated or refuted only on the basis of a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the Septuagint translation in the rest of the Book. And this, Hatch failed to do.

The condemnation came the following year.<sup>33</sup> After first stating tactfully that "durch einem Mann wie E. Hatch angeregt kann die Sache nicht mehr unbeachtet gelassen werden,"<sup>34</sup> Dillmann dealt with the passages in the Hebrew for which the pre-Origenian Septuagint text had nothing in such a manner as to cause Hatch's study to be virtually ignored since. Not that Dillmann's method was above reproach methodologically (cf. Driver, n. 26 above), any more than

<sup>30</sup> *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford, 1889), 215-45.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, 220.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*, 244.

<sup>33</sup> A. Dillmann, "Textkritisches zum Buche Ijob," *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (cited in n. 11 above), 1345-1373. Cf. T. K. Cheyne, "Dillmann on the Text of Job," *Expositor*, Fourth Series, IV (August, 1891), 142-5.

<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, 1353.

Hatch's; but he had tradition on his side in his struggle against one who dared attempt the overthrow of the status quo.

At the beginning of the century Klostermann came forth with a somewhat novel theory.<sup>35</sup> On the basis of an examination of but seven passages (4.2, 12; 6.5, 6, 7; 9.3; 32.11) he concluded that the preserved Hebrew text was the offspring of a Palestinian parent, that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the pre-Origenian Septuagint text (to which it corresponded in length and in content) derived from an Egyptian parent, and finally, that both these parents were the products of an ancestor that was neither as short as the Septuagint's Hebrew text nor as long as the received Hebrew text. That all three texts, argued Klostermann, are intimately related is evident from the fact that they have in common the Prologue, Epilogue, Dialogue Speeches (chaps. 3-31), Elihu Speeches, the Lord's Speeches, the absence of Zophar's third speech, and the like. Somehow the prototype was enlarged to its present masoretic length, and shortened to the size of the pre-Origenian Septuagint text, at the same time that both texts experienced the usual vicissitudes of corruption and glosses at the hands of scribes and scholars.

Klostermann's theory, at best, remains a thesis that cannot be demonstrated. He failed to reproduce the prototype, he did not reproduce the verses that were added to it to form the masoretic text, he pointed out but two scribal errors,<sup>36</sup> and finally, his interpretations of the seven passages upon which he based his theory are either unacceptable or else rendered quite superfluous by more convincing ones.<sup>37</sup>

Gray, who was responsible, among other sections, for the Introduction in the *International Critical Commentary on Job*,<sup>38</sup> concluded on the basis of four arguments that the preserved Hebrew text is essentially the original one, both in length and in content, even though in certain passages the priority of the Septuagint text was to be accepted. Let us look into the substance of these arguments.

(1) "The main structure of the book is unaffected by the defect of 6" (p. lxxiv). But this could just as readily have been phrased: The main structure of the book is unaffected by the surplus of the masoretic text. The first statement is so worded that its author betrays a prejudice in favor of the priority of the masoretic text; the second state-

<sup>35</sup> Article "Hiob" in *PRE*, Vol. VIII (1900), 92-126, especially § IV, Text (100-108).

<sup>36</sup> 12.11; 20.25. But see below, Chapter II, *ad loc.*

<sup>37</sup> These passages are discussed below, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> American Edition (New York, 1921), Vol. I, pp. lxxi ff.



ment would be no less biased and untenable, in favor of the Septuagint. This argument by Gray must be rejected on the ground that he assumed as a premise what was yet to be proved.<sup>39</sup>

(2) "The defect is not at all evenly distributed over the book . . ." (p. lxxiv). Of the first 11 chapters practically nothing is absent from the Greek — only about 7 stichoi; of the following 3 chapters (11–14), 4% is lacking; of the next 7 chapters (15–21), 16% of the Hebrew text is not reproduced in the Septuagint; of the following 10 chapters (22–31), 25% does not exist in the pre-Origenian Septuagint; of the next 6 chapters (32–37, the Elihu Speeches), fully 35% is omitted; and of the last 5 chapters (mostly the Lord's Speeches), but 16% is absent. This phenomenon, according to Gray, "inclines the balance against the priority of **℣**; it would have been natural for an abbreviator to shorten increasingly in the successive cycles, which in general cover much the same ground, and most of all in the speeches of Elihu, which contribute so little that is fresh. On the other hand, increasing activity on the part of an expander such as would be required to account for the distribution of the additional matter is less likely" (p. lxxvi).

Yet this argument is basically fallacious because once again a premise is assumed, even if unintentionally, without justification. For how do we know that an abbreviator shortened the Book in the later sections, and that he did so because the arguments were becoming repetitive and pointless? The answer would seem to be: Because these sections were not translated by the original Septuagint translator. But this surely is begging the question. For one could argue with equal justification, or lack of it, that some one must have added these passages in the later sections of the Book because it is inconceivable that the original author of the Hebrew text, after displaying such excellence in style and reasoning, should begin to advance arguments that were mere repetition, and to add passages, singly and in groups, that were superfluous and of inferior literary quality. And as evidence that it was not the original author, but a later writer who was responsible for these passages, one may offer the pre-Origenian Septuagint which lacked them precisely because it was made after they were added to the original Hebrew text. It is clear that Gray's second argument is fully as indecisive as the first.

(3) "The passages absent from **℣** are not in Hebrew distinguished from the rest by any difference of style and vocabulary, but on the other hand they are connected with them by some noticeable similarities. Thus what is absent from **℣** employs the same three terms

<sup>39</sup> Gray himself wrote (p. lxxv), "(i) is obviously quite indecisive."

for God — אל (7 times), אלה (3 times), שדי (2 times); and as within ש (the Hebrew text) there is a difference in the degree of preference for אל . . . so also is there in the passages of Elihu absent from ט (אל 6 times, אלה once). Similarly the passages absent from ט contain in ש several of the rarer particles . . . as, e. g., אלי in 29<sup>19</sup> and עלימו (27<sup>23</sup> 30<sup>27</sup>)" (p. lxxv).

We shall not enter into a discussion of the validity of the contention in the first half of the foregoing paragraph, since Gray himself did not do so.<sup>40</sup> We shall confine our analysis to the terms for God.

Two objections may be raised against the use of statistics in this particular case: (a) since in the "excess" passages the total number of all terms employed for God, namely, אל, אלה and שדי, is but 12, whereas in the remainder of the poetical portion of the Book these three terms are found fully 115 times,<sup>41</sup> these two parts of the Book are, strictly speaking, not comparable. For where one error (e. g., אלהים for שדי in 5.8)<sup>42</sup> in the second group of 115 would lead us astray to the extent of less than 1%, a similar error in the first group would amount to over 8%<sup>43</sup>; (b) the preference for אל as against אלה, and of both these as against שדי, is not due wholly to any predilection on the part of our author; the exigencies of meter would necessitate the more frequent use of monosyllabic אל than of the quasi-disyllabic אלה. And שדי is used primarily when a parallel for any other term for God was required.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, "a poet whose imaginative powers were at least not inferior to those of the original writer"<sup>45</sup> and who had studied his work very carefully would in all probability use the various terms for God in the same manner as the original author did.

<sup>40</sup> That this would prove nothing in itself follows from Gray's own admission with regard to the question whether the Elihu Speeches are an addition or not. "The common features are the natural result of the familiarity of the writer with the book which he was supplementing; so e. g., he naturally uses the same names for God, but . . . with differing relative frequency" (*idem*, p. xli, n. 1.).

<sup>41</sup> *Idem*, §§ 19, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Orlinsky, "Job 5.8, a Problem in Greek-Hebrew Methodology," *JQR*, 25 (1934-5), 271-8. A fourth argument may now be added to the three offered there (p. 278, §§ a, b, c) in favor of original שדי, viz., the parallel passage 13.3,

אֹלָם אֲנִי אֱל־שְׁדִי אֲדַבֵּר

וְהוֹכַח אֱל־אֵל אֶחָדָּן:

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Gray's statement (§ 24), "And the occurrences [of the terms for God] in Bildad's speeches [only 8 altogether] are too few for safe comparison."

<sup>44</sup> Orlinsky, *JQR*, 25 (1934-5), 275 f. and n. 14. I can find no justification for the reasoning of B. D. Erdmans, *Studies in Job* (Leiden, 1939), 1, "The Conception of God in the Book of Job (El, Eloah, Shaddai)," pp. 3-26.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 32 above.

But (a) and (b) aside for the moment, let us see whether Gray's interesting comparison is borne out statistically. According to Gray, the "excess" passages of the Hebrew text contain אל, אלה, and שדי in the proportion 7:3:2. According to his statistics (§§19 and 24) the entire Book contains the same three terms for God in the proportion 55:41:31. By subtracting the former from the latter, we find that the major part of the Book, which is common to both the Hebrew and the Septuagint texts, contains the three terms for God in the proportion 48:38:29.

Now if the "excess" passages were the product of the original author of the Hebrew text, we should expect for the terms for God, on the basis of 48:38:29, the proportion 7-:5½:4+; yet all we get is the proportion 7:3:2. In other words, we find about one-half the number of each of אלה and שדי that we are entitled to from our author statistically. If anything, this proves that the "excess" passages are the product of another hand. But that one cannot press this point is evident from the conclusions drawn from the following set of statistics.

Since the Elihu Speeches contain אל as against אלה and שדי together in the proportion of 19:12 (6 for each of אלה and שדי) = 16:10, and since the rest of Job is characterized by the proportion 36:60 (35 for אלה and 25 for שדי) = 6:10, and since this, according to Gray,<sup>46</sup> helps to prove that the Elihu Speeches are the product of another poet, it follows that the Bildad Speeches are the product of a third poet, because the proportion of אל to אלה and שדי together is in this group 6:2 (0 for אלה and 2 for שדי) = 30:10. Gray's contention that "the occurrences in Bildad's speeches are too few for safe comparison"<sup>47</sup> seems rather weak in view of his acceptance of Zophar's Speeches as a basis for statistical argument when they offer even less occurrences (אל 2 times; אלה 3 times; שדי once). The entire argument resolves itself into a *reductio ad absurdum*.

The proportion of אל to אלה and שדי together in the "excess" passages within the Elihu Speeches is 6:1 (אלה once; שדי none). The preserved Hebrew text of these Speeches contains these terms for God in the proportion 19:12 (6 for each of אלה and שדי). The remaining part of these Speeches, therefore, the part preserved both in the Hebrew text and in the pre-Origenian Septuagint text, employs these terms in the proportion 13:11 (5 for אלה; 6 for שדי). This means that if Gray's statement were correct, we should expect אל to occur in the "excess" passages a little more than once for every occurrence of אלה

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, § 24.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

and שרִי together (as in 13:11). Instead of which, אֵל occurs six times as often as the other two combined (6:1)! It is quite clear that Gray's third argument in favor of the priority of the preserved Hebrew text is groundless.

(4) "The removal of the passages absent from G in many cases destroys the poetical structure by depriving one parallel line of its fellow [8 examples are cited] while in few if any cases [7.8; 12.9; and 23.9 are cited as possible examples, p. lxxvi] does G yield good distichs where the Hebrew text has tristichs or isolated stichoi."

Since this phase of the problem will be discussed at length separately, it will suffice here to point out that a proportion of only 8:3 in favor of the Hebrew text, when, if its priority be granted, a proportion of approximately 11:0 is to be expected, does not speak strongly for Gray's fourth argument. In this connection, moreover, a very important phenomenon has been overlooked, namely, that in many cases the Septuagint text differs from the masoretic text immediately before or after, or both, the "excess" passages. This of course implies that anyone adding to a shorter Hebrew text, if such were the case, probably altered to some extent many of the passages between which his insertions were made, so that no abruptness be apparent.

Our conclusion, then, that Gray's arguments in general and his statement that arguments "3 and 4 tell heavily against the priority of G in favour of the Hebrew text" are without solid foundation, seems fully justified.

M. Bittenwieser<sup>48</sup> offered another suggestion in connection with the divergence between the Hebrew and Greek texts of our Book. "Many of the astounding renderings of the Greek," he proposes, "many of the most perplexing deviations from the Hebrew, are due, not as is generally assumed, to any ignorance of Hebrew on the part of the translators, nor yet to the circumstance that their Hebrew copy differed materially from the masoretic text, but to the fact that the Alexandrian translators were guided in their work by a traditional interpretation which they accepted without question and followed as a matter of course."<sup>49</sup>

That this may be true, is possible. Unfortunately, however, Bittenwieser offered only two passages to prove his point, and neither passage accomplished that purpose. The passage 12.5-6, Bittenwieser argued, received substantially the same interpretation in the Greek as it did in

<sup>48</sup> *The Book of Job* (New York, 1922).

<sup>49</sup> *Idem*, pp. viii ff. Cf. J. Bloch's review in *New Palestine*, 11 (Dec. 17, 1926), pp. 444-5.

Targum I and II and a thousand years later in Rashi, thus proving that a continuous line of tradition influenced each of the three separately. But this argument must be rejected for the following reasons: (a) Rashi most probably depended upon the Targum when he interpreted this passage; (b) Targum I and II are really not substantially the same as the Septuagint because of a common interpretation. Where they are similar, it is because of a common Hebrew text; and where they differ, we may be able to account for the causes of the divergence only after a careful study of the characteristics of these translations throughout the Book. This Buttenwieser failed to do; (c) the Septuagint omits not only verse 5a but also verses 3a<sup>2</sup>b and 4a; Targum I and II and Rashi of course retain these stichoi. A common interpretation is out of the question.

The second passage, 14.12, 14, provides even less support for Buttenwieser's suggestion. The fact that "Christian and Jewish exegetes should wish to do away with Job's denial of a hereafter" would, perhaps, not be surprising. But that "the influence of the traditional interpretation" which Buttenwieser thinks responsible for many a divergence between the Hebrew and Greek texts was responsible in this case, is most unlikely. And for these three reasons: (a) one of the fundamental tenets of both religions, Jewish and Christian, is the belief in the existence of a hereafter, and any passage in the Hebrew Bible, especially in a Book such as ours, which assumes — it does not really argue or deny — in the most matter of fact manner that no such concept exists, would naturally come under the censorship of the exegetes of both schools independently of each other; (b) the Targum gets around the difficulty in verses 12 and 14 by denying immortality to the wicked (רשעים) only. The Septuagint translation does no such thing; (c) the Septuagint does not censor any of Job's statements dealing with the absence of a hereafter.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Orlinsky, "The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Job 14.12," *JQR*, 28 (1937-38), 57 ff., especially p. 64 and n. 27; *Crozer Quarterly*, 21 (1944), 156-160; *JBL*, 62 (1954), 251-3; "The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the LXX of Isaiah" [in Hebrew], *Eretz-Israel*, 3 (1954), 155-7 (English summary, pp. ix-x); *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 27 (1956), 193-200. B. J. Roberts (following T. W. Manson) has observed that "... the tendency to find in the Septuagint frequent traces of the elimination or modification of anthropomorphisms must be viewed with caution" (*The Old Testament Text and Versions* [Cardiff, 1951], Chap. XII, "The Character of Septuagint Translation," § a ii, The Avoidance of Anthropomorphisms, pp. 174-7); yet even then he tends to make too much of the extremely few instances in a Book, sometimes but one (!) out of scores and hundreds of possible instances — especially since stylism and theology, and not anthropomorphism (or — pathism) as such, may be the factor involved. Neither is it helpful to



Tychsen,<sup>51</sup> and more recently and far more fully Wutz,<sup>52</sup> developed the theory that the Septuagint of the Hebrew Bible was a translation made from a text written not in Hebrew but rather in Greek characters. In this way Wutz attempted to explain the divergences between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Job as well as of other Books of the Bible. But whereas my dissertation in 1935 included an analysis of the Tychsen-Wutz transcription theory so far as the book of Job is concerned,<sup>53</sup> it is no longer necessary to refute this theory in any detail; in his commentary on *Das Buch Job* (1939), Wutz himself, in discussing the "Septuaginta und Urtext," treated the Septuagint text as a translation made directly from a Hebrew text written in the Hebrew script.<sup>54</sup>

associate any such alleged — if only very sporadic — tendency in the Septuagint with the clear and consistent pattern followed in the Targum. Cf. the study of "The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Psalms" by my student, Rabbi Arthur Soffer (a master's dissertation) to appear in this *Annual*. And see now P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century" (in the C. H. Dodd volume, 1956), p. 200, "... Orlinsky is therefore right in flatly denying that any 'antianthropomorphism' is characteristic of the LXX."

<sup>51</sup> *Tentamen de Variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. Generibus* (Rostochii, 1772).

<sup>52</sup> *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen), in the series *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament*, ed. R. Kittel, N. F., Heft 9, 1925 and 1933. See also Wutz's *Die Psalmen* (München, 1925).

<sup>53</sup> In 1935 I wrote in my dissertation (p. 45, n. 54): "The theory has been subjected to such thoroughgoing criticism that ere long it will be remembered as nothing more than a curiosity. To the list of discussions given by Barrois (*Revue biblique*, 29 (1930), 332, nn. 1 and 2; 345, n. 2; 350, n. 1.) we may add Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Historischkritische Studien zu der Septuaginta. Nebst Beiträgen zu den Targumim, I, 1; Leipzig, 1841), 31 f., n. r; H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (Göttinger Handkommentar zum A. T.; 1926), p. xiii; J. A. Montgomery, *ICC on Daniel*, 1927, p. 27, n. 2; N. Peters, *Das Buch Job*, 1928, pp. 79\*-80\*; J. Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift Lag das Buch Isaías den LXX Vor?* (Giessen, 1930); Ch. Heller, *Die Tychsen-Wutzsche Transkriptionstheorie* (Berlin, 1932); R. Hauptert, *JBL*, 53 (1934), 251-5; J. Ziegler, "Der textkritische Wert der Septuaginta des Buches Job," *Miscellanea Biblica*, II (Rome, 1934), 277-96; G. Bertram, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 38 (1935), 33-39. The only review at all favorable is that of P. Humbert, *Revue de Theologie et de Philosophie*, 12 (1925), 258-77, 318."

<sup>54</sup> Cf. my review of Wutz's *Job* in *JBL*, 59 (1940), 529-31; and the Section 'The Rise and Fall of the (Tychsen-) Wutz Transcription Theory,' in my chapter (VIII) on "Current Progress and Problems in Septuagint Research" in *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow*, ed. H. R. Willoughby (Chicago, 1947), 155-7. P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies," etc., 204, n. 3, reminds us that "... Its [viz., this mistaken theory of F. Wutz] obituary was written by P. Kahle who had favoured it for many years (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. XCII [1938], pp. 276 ff.) and by H. M. Orlinsky ..."



Special reference must be made to Beer's analysis of *Der Text des Buches Hiob Untersucht* (Marburg, 1897).<sup>55</sup> This detailed study established itself immediately as the best and most comprehensive of the Septuagint text of Job, and it has not been superseded since.<sup>56</sup> One of Beer's rewards for this study was the invitation to edit the critical apparatus for the Hebrew text of Job in R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (2nd and 3rd editions). The present study, however, will offer evidence on nearly every page to prove that Beer in all too many cases misunderstood the character and import of the Septuagint translation of our Book, assuming variants in its Hebrew *Vorlage* or corruptions in the preserved Hebrew text when, in reality, the Septuagint translator merely paraphrased or interpreted, or, if only occasionally, when the Septuagint text itself had become corrupted in the process of transmission.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, most of Kittel's collaborators in his *Biblia Hebraica*, no less than Kittel himself, have been guilty of so many errors of omission and commission as to render the critical apparatus virtually worthless; he who refuses to consult the versions and the other data at their source can blame no one but himself if he is misled by the footnotes in Kittel's edition at least as often as he is helped.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Appeared originally as "Textkritische Studien zum Buche Job," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 16 (1896), 297-314; 17 (1897), 97-122; 18 (1898), 257-86. Part I appeared earlier separately: *Der Text des Buches Hiob*, Erste Heft. Kap. I-XIV (Marburg, 1895).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. J. Ziegler, *op. cit.* (n. 53 above), p. 277, n. i, "Die Arbeiten von BICKELL über die Job-LXX sind von BEER aufgenommen und verwertet; die späteren Studien über die Job-LXX gehen nicht über BEER hinaus."

<sup>57</sup> His brief treatment of some aspects of the Septuagint of Job led Ziegler to the same conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 296), that the translator's "Übersetzungsart mindert den Wert der Job-LXX sehr beträchtlich und muss gebührend berücksichtigt werden." Beer himself is generally somewhat less radical in *Biblia Hebraica*<sup>3</sup> (1937) than in *Biblia Hebraica*<sup>2</sup> (1909) — but all too far from enough!

<sup>58</sup> For specific cases in point, cf., e. g., Orlinsky, "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll, VI," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 25 (1954), 86-7 and n. 2, with additional reference on p. 85, n.\*, to other specific passages in "Studies I-V" and "Studies VII" (*Tarbiz*, 24 [1954-55], 4-8 (in Hebrew; English summary, pp. I-III). C. C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah* (New York, 1928) and J. Ziegler, "Studien zur Verwertung der Septuaginta im Zwölfprophetenbuch," *ZAW*, 60 (1944), 107-31, have put it bluntly enough: the former wrote (pp. 214-5), "The apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* contains very many readings erroneously supposed to be attested by the Greek version, readings gathered blindly from the commentaries, and the same is to be said of the *Handwörterbuch* of Gesenius-Buhl"; the latter wrote (p. 120), "Bei einer Neuausgabe der *Biblia Hebraica* des Dodekapropheten [Otto Procksch was the editor in *Biblia Hebraica*<sup>3</sup>] muss das gesamte G-Material . . . neu bearbeitet werden." Cf. also A. M. Honeyman, *Vetus Testamentum*, 5 (1955), 223. And see now P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies," etc., p. 198, "... H. M. Orlinsky who comes back to this

Two commentators in more recent times paid special attention to the Septuagint text, C. J. Ball and P. Dhorme. The former's work,<sup>59</sup> unfortunately, lacks all appreciation of the character of the Greek translation and, to quote what Montgomery wrote about another scholar's work,<sup>60</sup> "results only in an exercise in Hebrew composition which may be left to Jewish *literati*" when he reverts the Greek into Hebrew. Dhorme's textual criticism,<sup>61</sup> on the other hand, is serious and competent. But being conservative, he tended to dismiss the Septuagint rendering, where it diverged from the masoretic text, as a paraphrase, a euphemism, and the like. These explanations are misleading, however, in that they very frequently do not account for the free rendering, and merely serve as a safeguard against the use of the Septuagint for the emendation of the Hebrew text.

Within the past few years two studies of the Septuagint of our Book appeared, G. Gerleman's *Studies in the Septuagint, I. Book of Job* (Lund, 1946), and D. H. Gard's study of *The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job* (Philadelphia, 1952). Unfortunately neither study advanced our knowledge of the problems involved beyond that attained by their predecessors; indeed, the two authors could have saved themselves the task of publishing a goodly part of their monographs had they consulted and used the older literature within the body of their arguments.<sup>62</sup> Thus Gerleman made no reference at all to such authors as Beer, Dillmann, Schleusner, Ziegler and (Driver-)Gray; whereas Gard advanced explanations of the Septuagint text which had long ago been proposed by one or more

point time and again is not very far from the truth when he says that not a single line in the apparatus of BH<sup>3</sup> is free from mistakes regarding G . . ."; H. M. Orlinsky, "Notes on the Present State of the Textual Criticism of the Judean Biblical Cave Scroll" (in the W. A. Irwin volume), *passim*, on "the footnotes in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* — the standard and monotonous source of variants (and conjectural emendations) for those who have no conception or standard of scholarship . . ."

<sup>59</sup> *The Book of Job* (Oxford, 1922).

<sup>60</sup> Montgomery, *ICC on Daniel*, p. 37, on "Jahn's thoroughgoing adoption of G" — on which see also, e. g., J. Wellhausen, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1902, Heft 2. Ball's linguistics came in for criticism no less severe in R. G. Kent's Presidential Address, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 55 (1935), 115-38 (especially 130 ff.).

<sup>61</sup> *Le Livre de Job* (Paris, 1926).

<sup>62</sup> In the course of my review of Gerleman's *Job* in *JBL*, 67 (1948), 381-90, I had occasion to write (p. 382) that "In Ch. I, the longest in the study . . . I had the feeling on every page that I was meeting old friends again, that, in general, the sort of passages used for analysis and the sort of conclusions drawn from them were not new."

scholarly predecessors, all of whom he listed in his Bibliography.<sup>63</sup> Bildad's advice in 8.8–10 is especially pertinent for scholars!

When I made mention in the preceding paragraph to Schleusner, I had in mind his excellent *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et reliquos Interpretes Graecos ac Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, 5 volumes (Lipsiae, 1820). Scholars continue to neglect this justly famous work, which includes the best suggestions of his illustrious predecessors ("Post Bielium et Alios Viros Doctos, conguessit et edidit Joh. Frieder. Schleusner"), and which is sober and learned throughout; cf. this statement in the "Lectori Benevolo Salutem et Officia" (pp. VIII–IX), "... In eis locis autem, ubi LXX ac reliqui Interpretes Graeci a textu hebraico discrepare videntur, sunt autem, uti omnes sciunt, haud pauca, maxime in *Iesaiae* ac *Proverbiorum* libris, haud minima pars laboris mei erat haec, ut rationes discrepantiarum investigarem, ac variis modis, inprimis reliquarum linguarum orientalium ope, dissensum tollere studerem, ubi nempe fieri potuit. Quis enim omnium illarum discrepantiarum rationem reddat? aut quis dixerit, unde omnia interpretamenta et additamenta graeca originem duxerint? His omnibus denique, ne quid huius rei studiosi desiderent, singulis fere paginis adieci observationes criticas ad emendationem textus versionum graecarum V. T. admodum corrupti pertinentes, haud raro quoque coniecturas criticas, quarum catalogum index in fine libri exhibebit, quas tamen, quanquam non omni probabilitate destitui mihi certe videbantur, aliis ideo obtrudere nollem. . ."

A word about some commentaries on Job in general. Such com-

<sup>63</sup> Cf. my review of Gard in *JBL*, 73 (1954), 251–3. In his articles on "The Concept of Job's Character according to the Greek Translator of the Hebrew Text" (*JBL*, 72 [1953], 182–6) and "The Concept of the Future Life according to the Greek Translator of the Book of Job" (73 [1954], 137–43), the results have been no less disappointing. In general, Gard followed mechanically the line of reasoning and the premises assumed by his preceptor, H. S. Gehman, "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1–15" (*JBL*, 68 [1949], 231–40). P. Katz drew my attention to the extremely severe review of Gard by G. Zuntz in *L'Antiquité Classique*, 22, (1953), 538–41, where Gard's knowledge and use of Greek was questioned. As to the Hebrew, Gard wrote on 29.5 (p. 26), "'When the Almighty was yet with me,' בעוד שרי עמרי. The translator plays [sic!] with the words שרי בעוד. He treats [sic!] the labial ב as מ, yielding the adverb מעור [sic!] 'exceedingly' . . ." But מעור is not yet the equivalent of מאור! And one should hardly attribute to the Septuagint translator this playful nonsense. Incidentally, what Zuntz has to say there (pp. 106–122) about E. Repo's doctoral dissertation on *Der Begriff "Rhēma" im Biblisch-Griechischen. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und semologische Untersuchung. I. "Rhēma" in der Septuaginta* (*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Helsinki, 1951), is indeed true so far as the book of Job is concerned.

mentators as A. Merx,<sup>64</sup> Franz Delitzsch,<sup>65</sup> A. Dillmann,<sup>66</sup> C. Siegfried,<sup>67</sup> B. Duhm<sup>68</sup> K. Budde,<sup>69</sup> A. B. Ehrlich,<sup>70</sup> E. König,<sup>71</sup> S. R. Driver-G. B. Gray,<sup>72</sup> M. Bittenwieser,<sup>73</sup> P. Dhorme,<sup>74</sup> N. Peters,<sup>75</sup> E. J. Kissane,<sup>76</sup> and W. B. Stevenson<sup>77</sup> make practically no mention of the Septuagint where the masoretic text presents to them no difficulty. It is only when their opinions of what the author of Job may or should have written are upset by the preserved reading that they resort to the Septuagint, and even then only when it can — on their view — be made to support their opinions. Unfortunately, such use of the Septuagint cannot have real basis and value, derived as it is *ad hoc*, in the course of jumping sporadically from one difficulty to another.

F. Wutz's textual commentary on *Das Buch Job* (Stuttgart, 1939) need not detain us. As I wrote in reviewing it in *JBL*, 59 (1940),

<sup>64</sup> See n. 28. above. T. K. Cheyne (*Expositor*, Fourth Series, IV [August, 1891], 142-3) was not altogether unjustified in writing, "... the Septuagint version, on which even such a critic as Merx had sometimes leaned too confidently. . ."

<sup>65</sup> *Das Buch Job*, (Leipzig, 1876. In series *Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament*, ed. C. F. Keil and Franz Delitzsch).

<sup>66</sup> *Das Buch Hiob*<sup>4</sup> (Leipzig, 1891. In series *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*).

<sup>67</sup> *The Book of Job* (Leipzig, 1893. In series *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, the so-called Polychrome Bible, ed. P. Haupt).

<sup>68</sup> *Das Buch Hiob erklärt* (Freiburg, 1897. In series *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. K. Marti).

<sup>69</sup> *Das Buch Hiob übersetzt und erklärt*<sup>2</sup> (Göttingen, 1913. In series *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. W. Nowack).

<sup>70</sup> *Hiob*, in Vol. VI of his *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig, 1913), 18-344. On Ehrlich see pp. 385-6 of my "Jewish Biblical Scholarship in America" (in the Tercentenary Issue of *JQR*, 45 [April, 1955], 374-412).

<sup>71</sup> *Das Buch Hiob, eingelegt, übersetzt und erklärt* (Gütersloh, 1929).

<sup>72</sup> *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job* (Edinburgh, 1921. In series *The International Critical Commentary*). This commentary joins those of E. Dhorme (see n. 74 below) and N. Peters (see n. 75 below) to constitute the best available on Job in recent years.

<sup>73</sup> *The Book of Job* (London, 1922).

<sup>74</sup> *Le Livre de Job* (Paris, 1926). Note the long and useful "Introduction" (pp. vii-clxviii).

<sup>75</sup> *Das Buch Job übersetzt und erklärt* (Münster in Westf., 1928. In series *Exegetische Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. J. Nikel and A. Schulz). Mention may be made of the useful "Literaturverzeichnis" (pp. xi-xxi) and "Einleitung" (pp. 1\*-99\*).

<sup>76</sup> *The Book of Job, Translated from a Critically Revised Hebrew Text with Commentary* (Dublin, 1939).

<sup>77</sup> *Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Poem of Job* (Aberdeen, 1951). Cf. my notice (*In Jewish Bookland*, March, 1952), "... The author has no genuine appreciation of such primary versions as the Septuagint and Peshitta, and all too frequently misuses them in emending the Hebrew text. . ."

529-31, "In no one single passage . . . has Prof. Wutz indicated that he has grasped the significance of either the Hebrew or the Greek text. . ."

## EXCURSUS A

THE COLUMNAR ORDER OF ORIGEN'S  
MANY-COLUMNED HEXAPLA BIBLE

In my discussion of "The Columnar Order of the Hexapla," *JQR*, 27 (1936-37), 137-49, I tried to show that Origen had a pedagogic motive in mind when he arranged the first six columns of the "Hexapla" (on the loose usage of this term, see my article on "Origen's Tetrapla — a Scholarly Fiction?" cited above in Chap. I, n. 8), namely, a desire to provide his fellow Christians with a textbook with which to learn the Hebrew language. This proposition of mine has been accepted by Giovanni Cardinal Mercati, *Biblica*, 28 (1947), notes on pp. 6-7 (= *Il Problema della Colonna II dell' Esaplo* [Città del Vaticano, 1947], notes on pp. 8-9); *Nuove Note di Letteratura Biblica e Cristiana Antica* (*Studi e Testi*, 95, 1941), p. 145, n. 3; and J. Ziegler (*Isaias*, 113 and n. 5).

B. J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* (Cardiff, 1951), 133, regards this proposition as "a very far-fetched solution to a problem which does not actually demand any answer other than that since Origen was making the Hebrew text the basis of his *Hexapla*, then it was inevitable that the text be included, and likewise the transcription." But several problems nevertheless do persist, and actually do demand an answer: (1) Why was it "inevitable" that "likewise the transcription" be included, especially if Origen had to prepare a goodly part of this enormous work himself? (2) Why was Aquila, which is later than the Septuagint, and probably also than Theodotion (see Chap. I, n. 9),<sup>78</sup> placed in Column III? (3) Why wasn't the revised Septuagint placed in Column III, where it normally and rightfully belonged, as the correct and "authoritative" rendering

<sup>78</sup> There is no real basis for the sweeping statement (Roberts, 123), "Some fifty or sixty years after Aquila's translation . . . a revision was made by Theodotion. . ." Cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, I, "History of the Septuagint Text," p. xxvii (§ 5), "Soon after Aquila, and also in the course of the 2nd century A. D., two other Greek translations were produced, those of Theodotion and of Symmachus." Actually, Symmachus' translation may have been made early in the third century (see pp. 178-9 of my article on "Origen's Tetrapla — A Scholarly Fiction?" cited in Chap. I, n. 8.), and the problem of "after" is not made easier by the gratuitous addition of "soon."



of the Hebrew text in Columns I and II? (4) Why wasn't Theodotion, an older and — to Origen — a much better version, placed before Symmachus, and even as Aquila and Symmachus, before the Septuagint?

Roberts comments in passing (p. 125) that "Not only was the (Theodotionic) version accorded pride of place in the *Hexapla* of Origen . . ."; this casual statement can scarcely be taken seriously: (i) Column VI in the *Hexapla* hardly constitutes "pride of place," whatever that is supposed to mean either to the modern scholar or to Origen; and (ii) the last column, if this be "pride of place," of Origen's "*Hexapla*" was filled, whenever available, by one of the so-called Quinta, Sexta, Septima, ὁ Σύρος and ὁ Ἑβραῖος (or, τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν).<sup>79</sup> Unless one assumes that Origen put together the six to eleven columns with no motive at all in mind — an assumption that no one holds, and one that would flatly ignore the problems pertaining to the columnar position of columns 2–6 — the pedagogic explanation is the only one that accounts for all the data involved. [J. A. Emerton has recently attempted to extend this view; see his discussion of "The Purpose of the Second Column of the *Hexapla*," *JThS*, New Series, 7 (1956), 79–87.]

<sup>79</sup> On Quinta, the "Syrian" and the "Hebrew" see briefly Ziegler, *Isaias*, pp. 113 (nn. 1, 3) and 115 (n. 1); on Quinta, see Montgomery, *ICC on Kings*, II and n. 5.

# THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH 36-39 IN RELATION TO THAT OF 1-35, 40-66\*

MARSHALL S. HURWITZ, New York

IN THIS *Annual*, 27 (1956), 193-200, Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky dealt in some detail with "The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Isaiah." "Our conclusion for the LXX translator of Isaiah (Chaps. 36-39 require separate study . . .)," he wrote, "is precisely the same as for the LXX translators of the Pentateuch and of Job, namely, that whether he did or did not find anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms offensive, he reproduced the Hebrew terms literally and correctly" (p. 200, § 27).

However, whereas the words for "hand," "right hand," "mouth," "foot," "voice," "lips," "arm," "eye," and "ear," when referring to God, were reproduced literally, in two instances it appeared as though the anthropomorphic element was handled differently. In 37.17 הָיָה עֵינֶיךָ וְרַגְלֶיךָ was rendered by εἰσάκουσον, κύριε, εἰσβλεψον, κύριε; in 37.29, וְשָׁאֲנַנְךָ עַל־הַבְּאֵרִים was turned into ἡ πικρία σου ἀνέβη πρὸς με. As Dr. Orlinsky pointed out:

The "eye" (עֵינֶיךָ) of the Lord was rendered faithfully (ὁ ὀφθαλμός) in two passages (1.15, 16), and less literally, although not less correctly, in five other instances: 43.4 . . . 49.5 . . . 59.5 . . . 65.12 . . . 66.4 . . . In 37.17 . . . and 38.3 . . . there is the possibility of anti-anthropomorphism having been at work . . .<sup>1</sup>

At Dr. Orlinsky's suggestion, therefore, I undertook to investigate the Septuagint of Chapters 36-39 in respect to: I. anthropomorphisms, and II. its relation to the rest of the Septuagint of the book of Isaiah.

Naturally, the quantity of data available in these four chapters is limited; indeed, there are only two words of anthropomorphic import that bear on our problem, "eye(s)" and "ear(s)." And yet we believe that a careful analysis of these terms (§ I), when combined with other data (§ II), leads to conclusions that are not unreasonable.

\*This article constitutes Part I of a thesis written under the direction of Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky at the New York School of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Hebrew Letters degree. The author wishes to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Orlinsky not only for his valuable suggestions but also for his continuing patience in guiding me through this work. The quotations from the LXX of Isaiah are from ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen, 1939).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, § 15.

## I. ANTHROPOMORPHISMS IN CHAPTERS 36-39

## A. (1.) עיני with reference to God.

As one goes through the Hebrew-Greek of Isaiah, and notes how regularly the עיני of God is reproduced literally by ὀφθαλμός (-οι), it comes as something of a surprise to read in 37.17 εἰσβλεψον, κύριε for פקד יהוה עיניך יהוה. In 1.15 עיני (אעלם) was reproduced by (ἀποστρέψω) τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου; in v. 16 עיניך (אעלם) by (ἀπέναντι) τῶν ὀφθαλμών μου; and in 33.15 עיניך (אעלם) by (καμύων) τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

The word εἰσβλέπειν is used only in 37.17 in the LXX of Isaiah, and but twice elsewhere in the entire Septuagint.<sup>2</sup> The verb βλέπειν is used occasionally in Isaiah to translate ראה,<sup>3</sup> but the more usual correspondent is ὁράομαι. In this passage the verb εἰσβλέπειν may be used in an attempt to introduce parallelism, that is, to reflect the preceding εἰσάκουσον, or the verb may be used in order to show that the Hebrew which is being translated is not merely ראה. Either way the anthropomorphism is not reproduced.

## (2.) בעיני with reference to God.

Strictly speaking, בעיני is but a prepositional unit, and no feeling of anthropomorphism need be present when a translator renders this term by "before" rather than by "in the eyes of (God)." in 38.3 (עשיתי בעיניך והטוב) was rendered (καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ) ἐνώπιόν σου (ἐποίησα). Elsewhere in Isaiah it is the preposition ἐναντίον that was employed: 43.4 (ἀφ' οὗ ἐντιμος ἐγένου) ἐναντίον μου / (רשע בעיני יקרה) (καὶ δοξασθήσομαι) ἐναντίον (κυρίου) / (ואבד) (יהוה) בעיני; 65.12 (καὶ ἐποιήσατε τὸ πονηρὸν) ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ / (ועששו הרע) בעיני; and 66.4 (καὶ ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν) ἐναντίον μου / (ועששו הרע) בעיני. Both ἐναντίον and ἐνώπιον are simply prepositions,<sup>4</sup> and the Septuagint, correctly, construed בעיני as a preposition.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Both in Job (6.28 and 21.5; Heb. פני). But Codex Alexandrinus reads ἐμβλέπειν in both passages.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. 6.9; 21.3; 44.18 (and some mss. at 29.18).

<sup>4</sup> The Greek ἐναντίον is most commonly used to translate the Hebrew לְפָנֶיךָ, עֵינֶיךָ, and ἐνώπιον is commonly used to translate the Hebrew בְּעֵינֶיךָ, לְפָנֶיךָ, and לְעֵינֶיךָ; cf. Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*; and M. Johannesson, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (Berlin, 1925).

<sup>5</sup> I omit verse 65.16 which has for וְכִי יִקְהָרוּ עֵינָיו (used in reference to God) καὶ οὐκ ἀναβήσεται αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, which is not a translation of this clause but rather a confusion with the verse which follows (65.17) where the Hebrew וְלֹא תַעֲלֶינָה עַל־לֵב is rendered οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐπέλθῃ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν. If this confusion was intentional then this might be counted as an attempt to avoid an anthropomorphism. It must be noted, however, that the word ἐπιλήσονται (active

B. אֱלֹהִים and בָּאֱלֹהִים with references to God (cf. Orlinsky, § 7).

(3.) Used without a preposition, אֱלֹהִים, when it refers to God, is translated literally in the one case outside of chapters 36-39 where it appears. 59.1 ἡ ἐβάρυνεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ / (מְשֻׁמֵּץ) אָזְנוֹ וְלֹא־כָבְדָה אָזְנוֹ. In 37.17, however, it is paraphrased: εἰσακούσων, κύριε / הָטָה יְהוָה אֲזִינָךְ וְשָׁמַע. The word εἰσακούειν is used interchangeably with ἀκούειν to translate שמע. It is hardly likely that the words הָטָה . . . אֲזִינָךְ were absent from the *Vorlage*;<sup>6</sup> the Hebrew clause seems to have been telescoped by the translator, whether consciously or unconsciously.

(4.) With the preposition בְּ, when it is used in reference to God, באֱלֹהִים is usually translated literally: 5.9 εἰς τὰ ὦτα κυρίου Σαβαωθ / בָּאֲזְנוֹי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת; 22.14 ἐν τοῖς ὡσὶ κυρίου Σαβαωθ / בָּאֲזְנוֹי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת. Apparently באֱלֹהִים was not as easily rendered by a single preposition as was בעֵינִי.<sup>7</sup> In 37.29, however, we find: καὶ ἡ πικρία σου ἀνέβη πρὸς με / (וְשִׁאֲנַנְךָ עָלַי בָּאֲזְנוֹי). Here the phrase באֱלֹהִים is rendered by the pronoun πρὸς.

(5.) Thus we find that the anthropomorphic passages, few as they are, are treated differently in chapters 36-39 than in the rest of the Septuagint of Isaiah.

## II. THE RELATION OF 36-39 TO THE REST OF THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISAIAH

On closer scrutiny of chapters 36-39 we find that in vocabulary, too, there is a marked difference as compared with the other chapters of the Septuagint of Isaiah. Where, in the other chapters, the translator sometimes resorted to several synonymous equivalents for rendering a single Hebrew word, in these chapters we find an unusual uniformity, almost a one-to-one equivalence of some words.

In the following list we shall deal with words and expressions which in the rest of Isaiah are alternated with one or more synonyms, and where the precise content of the synonym in no way differs from the other word. Thus the fact that chapters 36-39 has greater uniformity is not dependent on the context (viz., prose as against poetry) but rather on the subjective choice of the translators.

for passive) in verse 16 has already given this verse an increased likeness to verse 17, thus facilitating this scribal error.

<sup>6</sup> The word יְהוָה is retained, and it seems rather improbable that הָטָה would fall out before 'י and אֲזִינָךְ after it.

<sup>7</sup> Thus in English "in the sight of" is far more common and idiomatic than "in the hearing of."

A. In the Hebrew text of Isaiah, the root נצל in the Niph'al and Hiph'il occurs twenty times, nine of which appear in chapters 36–39. In chapters 1–35 and 40–66 this root is rendered in Greek by three different verbs, *ἐξαιρεῖν* (eights times),<sup>8</sup> *σώζειν* (twice),<sup>9</sup> and *ῥέσθαι* (once).<sup>10</sup>

Although there is variation, *ἐξαιρεῖν* is the predominant translation in these chapters. In 36–39 however, there is an almost uniform equivalence of נצל with *ῥέσθαι* (eight times, and possibly a ninth).<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, this word, *ῥέσθαι*, which is used in chapters 36–39 only for נצל, is employed by the translator of chapters 1–35 and 40–66 to translate other words: נאל (eleven times),<sup>12</sup> ישע (three times),<sup>13</sup> and פדה (once).<sup>14</sup> 5.29 is the only instance of the use of *ῥέσθαι* for נצל outside of chapters 36–39.

As for the precise content of these words, E. Hatch<sup>15</sup> lists all the instances of the use of *ἐξαιρεῖν*, *λυτροῦν*, *ῥέσθαι*, and *σώζειν* in the entire Septuagint,<sup>16</sup> and concludes that:

It is reasonable to infer that, in their Hellenistic use, the Greek words which are thus used interchangeably for the same Hebrew words did not differ, at least materially, from each other in meaning . . .<sup>17</sup>

B. In the Septuagint of Isa. 36–39, חלי/להל is translated by *μαλακία* and *μαλακίξασθαι* four times.<sup>18</sup> Only once again in the whole Book of

<sup>8</sup> 31.5; 42.22; 43.13; 44.17, 20; 47.14; 50.2; 57.13.    <sup>9</sup> 19.20; 20.6.    <sup>10</sup> 5.29.

<sup>11</sup> 36.14, 15, 18 *bis*; 37.12. In the case of 38.6, the mss. read *ῥέσθαι*, but Ziegler reads *σώζειν* with codices A, N, and Q. A hexaplaric note in the margin of Q tells us that *οἱ δ* reads *ῥέσθαι*. It is also of interest to point out that in the parallel passage in the Greek of II Kings 18–20 נצל is more usually rendered by *ἐξαιρεῖν* (the Greek of II Kings 18.29, 30, 34, 35 *bis*; 19.12). Twice, however, in the parallel passage of II Kings the translation is *ῥέσθαι* (the Greek of II Kings 18.32–33 parallel to Isa. 36.18); and once it is translated by *σώζειν* (the Greek of II Kings 20.6 parallel to Isa. 38.6).

<sup>12</sup> 44.6; 47.4; 48.17, 20; 49.7; 51.10; 52.9; 54.5, 8; 59.20; and 63.16.

<sup>13</sup> 49.25, 26; 63.5. In chapters 36–39, ישע in the Hiph'il is translated by *σώζειν* (37.20, 35), which is the usual translation (cf. 19.20; 25.9; 33.22; 35.4; 43.3, 11, 12; 45.22; 46.7; 47.13; 59.1; 60.16; 63.9).

<sup>14</sup> 50.2.

<sup>15</sup> *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford, 1889), pp. 22–23.

<sup>16</sup> The following errors and omissions in his list might be noted: (1) The word count which he gives for נצל = *ῥέσθαι* in Isaiah is actually the word count for נאל = *ῥέσθαι*; (2) The word count which he gives for ישע = *ῥέσθαι* in Isaiah is actually the word count for נצל = *ῥέσθαι* (typographical errors probably); (3) He omits Isa. 50.2 in the count of פדה = *ῥέσθαι*, נצל = *ἐξαιρεῖν*; and Isa. 49.7 in the count of נאל = *ῥέσθαι*.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> 38.1, 9 (*bis*); 39.1. In the parallel account in the Greek of II Kings the word *ἀρρωστῆν* is used (20.1, 12). Isa. 38.9 has no parallel in the Greek of II Kings.



Isaiah is מַלְאכָה rendered by *μαλακία*.<sup>19</sup> In chapters 1-35 and 40-66 the Septuagint paraphrases the clause which includes this word four times,<sup>20</sup> and when it does attempt to give an equivalent it employs *καταδείσθαι*,<sup>21</sup> *κοπιᾶν*,<sup>22</sup> and *πόνος*<sup>23</sup> once each. In chapters 1-35 and 40-66 the word *μαλακία* is used only once, for דַּכָּה.<sup>24</sup>

C. In chapters 1-35 and 40-66, the noun דָּבָר is translated by *λόγος* 18 times<sup>25</sup> and by *ῥῆμα* 9 times.<sup>26</sup> In chapters 36-39 דָּבָר appears as *λόγος* 13 times<sup>27</sup> but only once as *ῥῆμα*.<sup>28</sup> As for the specific content of the words, Eero Repo<sup>29</sup> counts all the instances of *Rhēma* and *Logos* in the Septuagint and concludes his study as follows:<sup>30</sup>

Doch lässt sich kein feste Regel aufstellen; denn man kann nicht nachweisen, warum dieser oder jener Uebersetzer immer Logos verwendet, während der andere Rhema vorbezugt. Wenn wirklich Rhema und Logos in ihrer Bedeutung geschieden werden müssen, dann ist doch auffallend, dass nicht einheitlich übersetzt wurde.

He also points out that the translator of Ezekiel uses *Logos* seventy-eight times while the word *Rhēma* appears only three times; in contrast, in the book of Genesis *Logos* appears three times and *Rhēma* fifty-seven times.<sup>31</sup>

D. The proper noun יְהוּדָה is reproduced *Ιουδαία* in all four cases in chapters 36-39,<sup>32</sup> whereas in the rest of the Book *Ιουδα* is the preferred transcription in the proportion of 2:1, viz., *Ιουδαία* eight times,<sup>33</sup> *Ιουδα* fifteen times.<sup>34</sup> We find great inconsistencies in rendering place names in this Book (as in the case of the other books of the Septuagint).<sup>35</sup> Sometimes we find the geographical name merely transliter-

<sup>19</sup> 53.3.      <sup>20</sup> 14.10; 17.11; 53.4, 10.      <sup>21</sup> 57.10.

<sup>22</sup> 33.24.      <sup>23</sup> 1.5.

<sup>24</sup> 53.5. Other Greek renderings are employed in 3.15; 19.10; 53.10; 57.15 (*bis*).

<sup>25</sup> 1.10; 2.1, 3; 8.10; 28.14; 29.11, 18, 21; 30.12, 21; 31.2; 45.23; 50.4; 51.16; 58.13; 59.13; 66.2, 5.

<sup>26</sup> 8.20; 16.13; 40.8; 42.16; 44.26; 55.11; 58.9; 59.21; 66.5.

<sup>27</sup> 36.5, 12, 13, 21, 22; 37.4 (*bis*), 6, 17, 22; 38.4; 39.5, 8.

<sup>28</sup> 38.7. It is of interest to note here that the one exception appears in the account of the miracle of the sundial, as in the case of the one exception in § A above.

<sup>29</sup> Repo, Eero, *Der Begriff Rhēma im Biblisch-Griechischen*, etc. (Helsinki, 1951).

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the charts on pp. 188-193 of Repo's book.

<sup>32</sup> 36.1; 37.10, 31; 38.9.

<sup>33</sup> 1.1 (*bis*); 2.1; 3.1, 8; 7.6; 8.8; 44.26.

<sup>34</sup> 5.3, 7; 7.1, 17; 9.20; 11.12, 13 (*tris*); 22.8, 21; 26.1; 40.9; 48.1; 65.9.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Könecke, M., *Die Behandlung der hebräischen Namen in der Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1885); Redpath, H. A., "The Geography of the Septuagint," *A. J. Th.*, VII (1903), pp. 308-13.

ated, and other times we find the Hellenistic Greek equivalent used.<sup>36</sup> In chapters 36–39, however, there is a marked preference for the Hellenistic Greek form, *Ιουδαία* for יהודה.<sup>37</sup>

**E.** The Tetragrammaton is generally rendered *κύριος* in this Book, as it is in the rest of the Septuagint.<sup>38</sup> Our Book, however, alternates among the translations *κύριος*,<sup>39</sup> *θεός*,<sup>40</sup> and *κύριος ὁ θεός*.<sup>41</sup> In chapters 36–39, however, the only alternative for *κύριος* is *θεός*,<sup>42</sup> never *κύριος ὁ θεός*. (See the Chart in § G below.)

**F.** Finally, the most decisive illustration from the word counts is the rendition of יהוה אֱמַר כֹּה. Thackeray<sup>43</sup> uses this as a criterion for distinguishing the different translators of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. It is rendered by some translators as *τάδε λέγει* and by others *οὕτως λέγει*.<sup>44</sup> In the Septuagint of Isaiah we find as follows:

יהוה אֱמַר כֹּה	Chaps. 1–35, 40–66	Chaps. 36–39
<i>τάδε λέγει</i>	11 times	8 times <sup>45</sup>
<i>οὕτως λέγει</i>	28 times	1 time <sup>46</sup>

<sup>36</sup> E. g., *Ἰδουμαία* is generally rendered by the Hellenistic Greek equivalent *Ἰδουμαία*, and only once transliterated as *Ἰδωμ* (63.1). Again, *שָׁמָר* is usually *Σαμαρεία*, but in 7.9 it is *Σομορων*. Both *Μωαβ* and *Μωαβιτις* are found as renderings of *מוֹאָב*. More remarkable are the contemporizing rendering of place names, as *תְּרַשִׁישׁ* / *καρχηδών* in 23.1, 6, 10, and 14 (while in 60.9 and 66.19 it is transliterated *θαρσις*); or *בְּלִילָיָה* / *Γαλιλαία* in 33.9.

<sup>37</sup> Another striking Hellenism in these chapters is the rendition of *אַרְמֵנְיָה* by *Ἀρμενία*, whereas in all the other appearances of this term in the Septuagint, the transliteration is used. (Gen. 8.4; II Kings 19.37 and Jer. 51(28).27 all give the transcription *Ἀραρατ*).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Baudissin's discussion, *Kyrios als Gottesname*, etc., especially pp. 156–176 of Volume I.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Thirty-nine times in chapters 1–35 and 40–66.

<sup>41</sup> Twenty times in 1–35, 40–66.

<sup>42</sup> 36.15, 18, 20; 37.20, 22; 38.7, 19, 20, 22; 39.6. Most of the appearances of *κύριος ὁ θεός* for יהוה אֱמַר occur in chapters 41–45. We find here a contrast between chapters 36–39 and the immediately antecedent chapters, cf. below, *οὕτως λέγει* = *יהוה אֱמַר כֹּה*.

<sup>43</sup> *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 2nd ed. (London, 1923), pp. 31 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Thackeray says concerning the book of Jeremiah (p. 31): "The phrase . . . יהוה אֱמַר כֹּה 'Thus saith (or "said") the LORD' . . . is rendered (1) by *τάδε λέγει κύριος* upwards of sixty times in the first half . . . (2) by *οὕτως εἶπεν κ.* some seventy times in the latter half . . . Seldom, I think, can the higher critics of the Hebrew Pentateuch adduce so convincing a proof of the limits of the component documents J and E . . . as is here afforded of the limits of the respective work of a pair of translators."

<sup>45</sup> 36.4, 14, 16; 37.3, 6, 21; 38.1, 5.

<sup>46</sup> 37.33. The Lucianic mss., however, preserve the reading *τάδε λέγει*.

It appears that, although throughout the rest of the Book the two translations are used interchangeably with a marked preference (almost 3:1) for οὕτως λέγει (especially in chapters 42-51), yet in chapters 36-39 there is a definite preference (8:1) for, perhaps even exclusive usage of, the far less frequently used form τὰδε λέγει.

G. The following chart summarizes the results of the preceding examples:

Hebrew	Greek	Isa. 1-35, 40-66	Isa. 36-39
(§ A) נצַל	σώζειν ἐξαιρεῖν ῥύεσθαι	2 8 1	1 (?) 0 8
(§ B) חלִי/חלה	μαλακίζεσθαι } μαλακία } <i>aliter</i>	1 7	4 0
(§ C) דבר	λόγος ρῆμα	18 9	13 1
(§ D) יהודה	Ιουδα Ιουδαία	15 8	0 4
(§ E) יהוה	κύριος θεός κύριος ὁ θεός	Passim 39 20	Passim 10 0
(§ F) כה אמר	τὰδε λέγει οὕτως λέγει	11 28	8 1 (?)

### III. CONCLUSIONS

1. The treatment of the few anthropomorphisms available for study in the Septuagint of Isa. 36-39 is different from that of the rest of the Book. Specifically, throughout the Septuagint of Isaiah anthropomorphic terms in the Hebrew are translated literally, while in 36-39 they are paraphrased, telescoped, or replaced by prepositions not used elsewhere in the Book for the same terms.

2. At several significant points the choice of language in the Septuagint of Isa. 36–39 is different from the choice of language found in the rest of the Book. Specifically,

- a) The vocabulary is occasionally sharply distinct from the vocabulary of the rest of the Book.
- b) There is less use of interchanging synonyms.
- c) The handling of geographical place-names is sometimes different.

3. These differences may be explained by another translator's hand at work. To argue that the demands of prose (in contrast to the poetry in the rest of the Book) changed the style is denied by the fact that the translator of the parallel text in II Kings 18–20 retained the anthropomorphisms, — see the APPENDIX below — and that the Lucianic recension of II Kings, which seems to have a predilection for changing *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου* to *ἐνώπιον*, does not change the key anthropomorphisms in II Kings 18–20.

## APPENDIX

### THE SEPTUAGINT OF ISA. 36–39 AND II KINGS 18–20

Finally, a comparison of the Septuagint of Isa. 36–39 with its counterpart in II Kings 18–20 reveals the peculiarity of the handling of anthropomorphisms in this part of Isaiah.

Generally II Kings tends to be more literal than Isaiah. We find, however, fewer examples of anthropomorphisms in the Hebrew text of II Kings than in the Book of Isaiah (due, perhaps, to the fact that it is predominantly narrative prose). Nevertheless, there is one recurrent formula *ה'רע בעיני ה' / לעשות הישר* which permits of “anti-anthropomorphic” rendering. It may be taken literally — i. e., in the eyes of God, *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου* or figuratively — i. e., before God, *ἐνώπιον κυρίου*.

Of the thirty-one<sup>47</sup> appearances of this formula, only four times<sup>48</sup> is it rendered by *ἐνώπιον*. All other instances of this formula are translated by *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* (*κυρίου*). In the Lucianic manuscripts (Brooke-McLean b or c<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>), however, we find the ratio reversed. These manuscripts read *ἐνώπιον* in twenty-six of the thirty-one

<sup>47</sup> 3.2, 18; 8.18, 27; 10.30; 12.3; 13.2, 11; 14.3, 24; 15.3, 9, 18, 24, 28, 34; 16.2; 17.2, 17; 18.3; 20.3; 21.2, 6, 15, 16, 20; 22.2; 23.32, 37; 24.9, 19.

<sup>48</sup> 8.18, 27; 12.3; 14.24. (In Codex A add 20.3; 23.37; in Codex B add 24.19).

instances<sup>49</sup> of the use of this formula. If there was a consistent attempt on the part of the Lucianic revision to avoid anthropomorphisms, as the above statistics might suggest, then it would be most evident in:

II Kings 19.16 || Isa. 37.17

הטָה ה' אֶת אוֹזְנֵיךָ וּשְׁמַע, פָּקַח ה' אֶת עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵה

We find, however, that the Lucianic recension concurs with the other manuscripts of II Kings in reading *κλῖνον, κύριε, τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἄκυσσον, ἄνοιξον, κύριε, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἴδε*.

Now, if the Lucianic recension changed *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (κυρίου)* to *ἐνώπιον* because of a desire to avoid anthropomorphisms, would it not likewise be sensitive to *פָּקַח אֶת עֵינֶיךָ*? We find, however, this clause rendered literally. It seems that the reading of *בְּעֵי* as a prepositional unit in the Lucianic recension is merely stylistic.

Yet the translator of Isa. 36-39 felt that not only was *ἐνώπιον* better than *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (κυρίου)* (cf. 38.3), but even in 37.17 he felt it necessary to paraphrase the mention of God's eyes and ears.

<sup>49</sup> The five exceptions are: 10.30; 15.18; 16.2; 20.3; 21.16.







Because so many of the Psalms are highly personal prayers directed at a God who is felt to be near, and because they include some of the most poetic passages in the Bible, the Hebrew text of the Book of Psalms abounds in anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms. Since the Psalter was an integral part of the public worship, it would seem that the LXX translator would have taken great care to reproduce this text properly. It was this combination of factors that has led the writer to assume that the Book of Psalms lends itself admirably to an inquiry such as the one projected in this introduction.

## CHAPTER I. ANTHROPOMORPHISMS

1. (a) The פָּנִים of the Lord appears 41 times in our Book.<sup>1</sup> In every case but one (9.20; see below), the translator uses some form of τὸ πρόσωπον, even in 42.6 (see below) where the Hebrew and Greek do not coincide. Typical of פָּנִים/το πρόσωπον are 22.25 פָּנֵי מֶלֶךְ (וְלֹא הִסְתִּיר) / (οὐδὲ ἀπέστρεψε) το π. αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ and 95.2 פָּנֵי (וְנִקְרָא) / (προφθάσωμεν) το π. αὐτοῦ (ἐν ἑξομολογήσει).

We might compare the literalness of the translation in the passage just given, where it is the "face" of the Lord that is involved, with the paraphrase of a similar expression in 17.13 קָרָא פָּנֵי (וְהָיָה) / (ἀνέσθητι, κύριε,) πρόφθασον αὐτοῦς. Note that it is the "face" of the wicked that is paraphrased.

Now let us turn our attention to the sole instance involving the "face" of the Lord which the translator has rendered without using το π., 9.20 עַל-פָּנֶיךָ / κριθήτωσαν ἔθνη ἐνώπιόν σου. The sense has not been changed, עַל-פָּנֶיךָ has merely been rendered idiomatically. This use of עַל-פָּנֶיךָ is discussed by Driver in *BDB*, p. 818. It is noted that this phrase may have one of three connotations: "before," "in preference to," or "in addition to." Our example falls into the first category, which, Driver says, is more definite and distinct than לְפָנֶיךָ. ἐνώπιον which the translator used here, is regularly used to translate the various forms of לְפָנֶיךָ. Clearly, the translator was not anti-anthropomorphic when he chose to translate עַל-פָּנֶיךָ with a word which accords more closely to the meaning of the phrase than with one that is merely literal and doesn't convey the idea. One may compare here πρότερός σου for עַל-פָּנֶיךָ in Ex. 33.19, where the "face" is Moses', not God's.

<sup>1</sup> 4.7; 9.20; 10.11; 11.7; 13.2; 16.11; 17.15; 21.7, 10; 22.25; 24.6; 27.8 (*bis*), 9; 30.8; 31.17, 21; 34.17; 42.3, 6; 44.4, 25; 51.11; 67.2; 69.18; 80.4, 8, 17, 20; 88.15; 89.15, 16; 90.8; 95.2; 102.3; 104.29; 105.4; 119.58, 135; 140.14; and 143.7.

In 11.7: *יְהוָה יִחַו פָּנָיו* / *εὐθύτητα εἶδεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*, the anthropomorphism inherent in *פָּנָיו* has been reproduced literally with *τὸ π.*; but the translator has taken it to be the subject of the verb, not its object. E. Kissane<sup>2</sup> says that “both Heb. and the Versions (except Targ.) make ‘face’ subject and ‘upright’ the object.” Rashi takes *פָּנָיו* to be the subject: *ואוהב אותם שפניו יחוו* and *ישר*, “He loves those whom His face sees (as) righteous.” Ibn Ezra, however, points out the difficulty involved: *ולא מצאנו הפנים רואים רק* “We do not find (any instance of) the face seeing, only of the eyes which are in it.” He also takes exception to the idea that the plural verb could possibly have the Lord as its subject. Consequently, he takes *פָּנָיו* to be the object of the verb. It is apparent that the meaning of this verse is far from clear in the Hebrew; the LXX translator was faced with a problem that was essentially textual, not theological as others assert (e. g., Fr. Baethgen, “Der textkritische Wert der alten Uebersetzungen zu den Psalmen,” in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 8 [1882], 405–459, 593–667). The plural verb of the Hebrew suggested that *פָּנָיו* be taken as the subject; its Greek counterpart, *τὸ πρόσωπον*, necessitated the singular *εἶδεν*. Under these circumstances, one can hardly consider his translation to be motivated by the desire to avoid an anthropomorphism — one which he did not avoid!

Nor is there any anti-anthropomorphic tendency in 42.6, 7 *בִּיְעוֹד אֹרְנוּ יְשׁוּעוֹת פָּנָיו אֱלֹהֵי* / *ὅτι ἐξομολογήσομαι αὐτῷ. σωτήριον τοῦ προσώπου μου ὁ θεός μου*. MT *פָּנָיו* appears as *τοῦ προσώπου μου* i. e., the face of the Psalmist rather than of the Lord. However, one is not justified in jumping to the conclusion that the translator deliberately mistranslated his Hebrew text in order to avoid an anthropomorphism. Rather, it is clear that he read or understood: *יְשׁוּעוֹת פָּנֵי וְאֱלֹהֵי*, which (together with the entire verse) actually is the closing refrain of Psalms 42 and 43 (42.12; 43.5), *וּמִהֲתַחֲמִי עָלַי הוֹחִלִי לְאֱלֹהִים בִּיְעוֹד אֹרְנוּ יְשׁוּעוֹת פָּנֵי וְאֱלֹהֵי* / *ἵνα τί περιλύπος εἶ, ψυχή, καὶ ἵνα τί συνταράσσεις με; ἔλπισον ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐξομολογήσομαι αὐτῷ. σωτήριον τοῦ προσώπου μου ὁ θεός μου*.

In 17.15 the Greek translation does not correspond exactly with

<sup>2</sup> Kissane, Monsignor Edward J., *The Book of Psalms* (Dublin 1953), Vol. I, p. 48. He adds: “But this reading is generally regarded as a correction made by the scribes for dogmatic reasons.” This probably refers to the plural form of the verb, which Ibn Ezra takes as definitely precluding the idea that God’s face is the subject. In spite of Kissane’s assertion that ‘face’ is the subject in the Hebrew, the Hebrew text is still obscure.

MT. But this cannot be accounted for by an anti-anthropomorphic tendency. For, as in 11.7, whatever the other difficulties, the anthropomorphism is literally reproduced rather than paraphrased:  $\text{אֲנִי בָרַךְ אֶת מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּהִקִּיץ הַמָּוֶה} / \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\ \acute{o}\phi\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omega\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\omicron\rho\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{o}\phi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon.$  Since the translator has reproduced  $\text{מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם}$  literally with  $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omega\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$  it would be strange if his rendering of  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  by  $\tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$  were motivated by an objection against attributing form to the Deity. This being the sole instance of  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  in Psalms, it would be difficult to demonstrate that anti-anthropomorphism is involved in its translation by  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ . It would be equally difficult to prove the contrary; but certainly the burden of the proof does not rest on those who aren't able to see that anti-anthropomorphism is involved. The burden of the proof rests on those (such as Baethgen, p. 605) who advance that hypothesis. Methodologically, the fact that  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  is generally used to translate  $\text{בָּבוֹד}$  has no bearing on the question. The use of  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  would be pertinent only if it could be demonstrated that the translator has used  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  in this case of the  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  of the Lord instead of using another word, one which he generally uses to translate  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  when the Lord is not involved. Furthermore, for the evidence to be really convincing, it ought to come from the same Book, presumably the work of a single translator. Since this is the sole instance of  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  in Psalms, it is manifestly impossible to prove that anti-anthropomorphism is involved in its translation by  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ .

However, we shall still consider the possibility. Since Psalms affords only one example of  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$ , we turn our attention to the Pentateuch, where it appears 8 times. In 7 instances it is translated by  $\delta\mu\omicron\iota\omega\mu\alpha$ .  $\delta\mu\omicron\iota\omega\mu\alpha$  is used to translate the  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  of the Lord in Deut. 4.12, 15 as well as the  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  not involving the Lord in Ex. 20.4; Deut. 4.16, 23, 25; and 5.8. It appears that the translators of Exodus and Deuteronomy did not feel constrained to avoid the translation of the  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  of God as  $\delta\mu\omicron\iota\omega\mu\alpha$ , or to choose an especially anti-anthropomorphic word with which to translate  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  when it involved the Lord.

There is, however, one more instance of  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  in the Pentateuch. It occurs in Numbers 12.8, where God is said to have spoken with Moses "mouth to mouth,"  $\text{פֶּה אֶל־פֶּה אֶדְבָּר־בּוֹ וּמִרְאָה וְלֹא בַחֲדוֹת וְהָמָנָה} / \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\ \delta\iota'\ \alpha\iota\nu\iota\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu, \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\nu.$  We might note that the use of  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  here may have been recalled by the translator of Psalms when he came to  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  in Ps. 17.15; on the other hand, the similarity may be pure coincidence, both translators having independently understood that the  $\text{הַמָּוֶה}$  of the Lord is His  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ . In connection with this

use of δόξα in the Pentateuch, C. T. Fritsch (*The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch* [Princeton, 1943], 9) says that "the very idea of ascribing form to God is carefully avoided in the Greek of Num. 12.8"; and he uses the latter part of the verse as his third example in the chapter on anti-anthropomorphisms, examples which he defines as instances where "in their attempt to spiritualize the conception of God, the translators of the Greek Old Testament avoided, to some extent, those representations which invested the deity with human form." Had Fritsch considered and cited the first part of the verse, where יהוה אלהינו is literally reproduced as *στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσω αὐτῷ*, he could hardly interpret the use of δόξα for יהוה as an anti-anthropomorphism. To use his own phrase, "the very idea of ascribing form to God" and one of "those representations which invested the Deity with human form" is carefully reproduced in the Greek of Num. 12.8. Whatever the translator's reason for using δόξα in Num. 12.8 or in Ps. 17.15, it was clearly not anti-anthropomorphism. Moreover, we have no basis for assuming that he considered using *ὁμοίωμα* and rejected it in favor of δόξα; δόξα may have been the first word that suggested itself to him. Even if he did reject *ὁμοίωμα*, a better explanation can be found than that of anti-anthropomorphism which involves us in the inconsistency of the translator's being anti-anthropomorphic at the end of a verse in the earlier part of which he reproduced a glaring anthropomorphism literally. For instance, it may be that he felt that *ὁμοίωμα* didn't properly represent the meaning of יהוה in Num. 12.8, because יהוה here meant the very presence of God, not a representation. *ὁμοίωμα* does mean a representation as it is used in Ex. 20.4; Deut. 4.16, 23, 25; and 5.8. Even in Deut. 4.12 and 15, *ὁμοίωμα* may mean a representation. But in Num. 12.8 and in Ps. 17.15 יהוה means God's own physical manifestation,<sup>3</sup> for which the translator chooses to use δόξα. Fritsch came close to the point but missed it. By using δόξα in Num. 12.8, what the translator avoided was not "the very idea of ascribing form to God," but the very idea that Moses gazed on a representation of the Deity rather than on God Himself. Similarly, in Ps. 17.15 *יִרְאֶה פָּנָיו / χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου*, the translator has correctly communicated the idea that the Psalmist will be satisfied when God Himself appears; not with an

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ioh. Fr. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus sive Lexicon in LXX . . . Veteris Testamenti* (Lipsiae, 1820), s. δόξα. He points out that δόξα is used in Ps. 17.15 because in that instance יהוה "non solum imaginem sed etiam faciem notat . . ."





in possession of the tradition of reading them as verbs in the *Niphal*, he may well have thought that אָחִיזָה in Ps. 17.15 was also in the *Niphal*. Our translator was dealing with an unvocalized text; he could have understood the verb in either of two ways, both of which were justified by his Hebrew text. To say that he understood it in the way that presented no theological difficulties is not the same as saying that he deliberately chose one over the other (which would imply that if the sole reading justified by his Hebrew text conflicted with his theological ideas, he would ignore the text and proffer an unobjectionable paraphrase as a conscientious translation of scripture).

In 63.3 we have another instance of the verb חִוִּיתִּיךְ being translated as a passive although it appears in MT in the *Qal* voice: בֶּן בְּקָדֶשׁ חִוִּיתִּיךְ : לְרֹאוֹת אֶנֶךְ יִבְרֹךְ / οὗτος ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὤφθην σοι τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν δύναμίν σου καὶ τὴν δόξαν σου. Here it is not specifically the "face" of the Lord that is involved, but the Lord in His totality. Before we take ὤφθην σοι as an anti-anthropomorphic paraphrase of חִוִּיתִּיךְ (as Baethgen [p. 420] and Mozley [p. 100] do), we should pause to recognize that this entire verse, but especially the first verb, poses a problem. The problem is one that caused difficulties not only for the LXX translator, but also for modern translators who were not at all concerned with avoiding anthropomorphisms. In the King James version, for example, the second strophe is made to precede the first: "O God, Thou art my God; early will I seek Thee, my flesh longeth for Thee as a dry and thirsty land, where no water is; To see Thy power and Thy glory, so as I have seen Thee in the sanctuary." The Revised Standard Version keeps the order of MT intact. However, חִוִּיתִּיךְ appears as "I have looked upon Thee," but לְרֹאוֹת is reproduced as a participle, "beholding." In the Jewish Publication Society version, חִוִּיתִּיךְ appears as "I have looked for Thee." The problem is this: if חִוִּיתִּיךְ means "I have seen Thee," then לְרֹאוֹת cannot be a complementary infinitive meaning "to see." Kissane<sup>4</sup> solves the problem by emending חִוִּיתִּיךְ to שְׁחַרְתִּיךְ, "So in the sanctuary do I seek Thee, to see Thy strength and Thy glory." Oesterley,<sup>5</sup> who translates חִוִּיתִּיךְ as "I beheld Thee," had to render לְרֹאוֹת as "and saw." The LXX translator of our Book solved this problem by understanding חִוִּיתִּיךְ as ὤφθην σοι, which allowed

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 268-9. "Heb. has 'I beheld Thee.' The text is probably corrupt. The context suggests something like 'I long for Thee.'" So, in his Critical Notes, he emends to שְׁחַרְתִּיךְ! F. Buhl, in *Biblia Hebraica*<sup>3</sup>, offers: "prps אִוִּיתִיךְ בֶּן; melius בֶּן בְּקָדֶשׁ אִוִּיתִיךְ." As for myself, I am inclined to keep the problem, rather than try to justify such emendations.

<sup>5</sup> W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms*, etc. (London, 1953), p. 305.

לִרְאוֹת to appear as a complementary infinitive, *ιδεῖν*. Why he did not choose to reproduce לִרְאוֹת with *εἶδον σε*, and לִרְאוֹת as *ὀφθῆναι*, cannot be explained with any degree of certainty. But to force an explanation based on anti-anthropomorphism would be difficult in view of the unmistakable anthropomorphisms literally reproduced in verses 8 and 9 of this very chapter: בִּי תִמְכֶּה נַפְשִׁי אֶתְּהַיָּה בִּי תִמְכֶּה: וְנִפְגַּע בְּנִפְגַּע / *καὶ ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου ἀγαλλιάσσομαι. ἐκολλήθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου ὀπίσω σου, ἐμοῦ ἀντελάβετο ἡ δεξιὰ σου*. Finally, as even Mozley points out (p. 30), in 84.8 the LXX is less "reverent" than MT: אֶל־אֱלֹהִים / *ὀφθήσεται ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν*.

(a) The compound מִפְּנֵי and its various derivatives occur 8 times in our Book with reference to the Lord (9.4; 38.4; 68.2, 3, 9; 96.9; 102.11; and 139.7). In every case it is translated literally *ἀπὸ προσώπου*, e. g., 139.7: וְאֶתְּהַיָּה מִפְּנֵי אֲבָרָחָם / *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ φύγω*;

(b) The compound לִפְנֵי and its various derivatives do not really fall within the scope of this paper, since they can hardly be considered anthropomorphisms; they are included for the sake of completeness in the various forms of פְּנִים, and because of what we may learn about the style of the translator. There are 34 instances of לִפְנֵי, or its derivatives, involving the Lord. In 2 of these instances the translator uses some form of *πρόσωπον*: 96.13 בִּי בָא לִפְנֵי יְהוָה / *πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου ὅτι ἔρχεται*; 98.9 בִּי בָא לִפְנֵי יְהוָה / *G<sup>A</sup> (G<sup>B</sup> is lacking here) ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου ὅτι ἔρχεται*.

The translator used *ἐνώπιον* 22 times (18.7; 19.15; 22.28; 41.13; 56.14; 61.8; 62.9; 68.4, 5; 72.9; 79.11; 86.9; 88.3; 96.6; 98.6; 100.2; 106.23; 119.169, 170; 141.2; 142.3b; and 143.2). In 22.28 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶי לִפְנֵי / *καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν*, Duhm, Briggs, Oesterley, and many others, may be justified in emending MT לִפְנֵי on the basis of *G<sup>BSA</sup>* (*αὐτοῦ*), Vulgate, etc., to לִפְנֵי. On the other hand, Rahlfs, following Cyprian, reads *ἐνώπιον σου*. But whether *αυτου* or *σου*, the reference is still to the Lord.

The translator used also *ἐναντίον* 8 times (50.3; 85.14; 95.6; 97.3; 102.1; 116.9; 119.169; and 142.3a), e. g., 50.3 (וַיִּבֶן אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֵלֵינוּ) / *(ἤξει ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται)* *ἐπὶ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ καθήσεται*.

There are 2 instances of periphrasis: 76.8 (מִיָּמֵינוּ מִדְּמֵינוּ לִפְנֵי / *καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται σοι (ἀπὸ τότε ἢ ὀργή σου)*. Similar periphrasis is found in Esther 9.2 where וַיֵּשׁ לֹאֲמֹר לִפְנֵי appears as *οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀντέστη*. That there is no objection to the idea involved (such as the

denial of "place" to God) is apparent from the literal translation of Ps. 106.23: וְיִפְּנֶה רַגְבָּם מִפְּנֵי מוֹשֶׁה / εἰ μὴ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἐκλεκτός αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἐν τῇ θραύσει ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ.

The other instance occurs in 102.29: בְּנֵי־בָרָךְ יִשְׁבּוּ וְיִפְּנֶה (וְיִפְּנֶה) / οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δούλων σου κατασκηνώσουσιν, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατευθυνθήσεται. As Schleusner points out, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατευθυνθήσεται is simply a free translation of the MT reading; the supposition of נָפַל in the translator's *Vorlage* (so, e. g., Buhl in *BH*<sup>3</sup>) is hardly necessary.

(c) To translate מִלְפָּנֶיךָ, ἀπὸ προσώπου is used, the reason being that the translator wanted to render the prefixed מַ as well as מִלְפָּנֶיךָ. To have used ἐνώπιον or ἐναντίον alone would not have been enough. There are 6 instances of מִלְפָּנֶיךָ in which the Lord is involved (17.2; 51.13; 97.5 [*bis*]; and 114.7 [*bis*]). Our word is reproduced literally in every instance, e. g., 17.2 אֲנִי מִלְפָּנֶיךָ מִלְפָּנֶיךָ / ἐκ προσώπου σου τὸ κρίμα μου ἐξέλθοι; 97.5 [*bis*]: מִלְפָּנֶיךָ מִלְפָּנֶיךָ / ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου, ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου πασῆς τῆς γῆς.

2. The ראש of the Lord occurs twice in our Book, both times in the phrase ראש נגד. In 60.9 it is reproduced κραταίωσις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου; in 108.9, ἀντίληψις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου. It goes without saying that when ראש means "top," "chief," or "beginning," it is translated by ἄκρος (72.16), ἄρχων (24.7, 9), or ἀρχή (137.6; 139.17). As a matter of fact, in the last three instances cited, Aquila translates ראש with κεφαλῆ. The LXX translator used better judgment in avoiding this literalism. But note that this occurs only in passages where the ראש is not that of the Lord.

3. The דִּבְרֵי of God are mentioned twice in Psalms, and in both cases the translation is literal: 17.4 דִּבְרֵי שִׁפְתֶּיךָ / διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν χειλέων σου; 89.35 דִּבְרֵי שִׁפְתֵיךָ וּמוֹצָא דִּבְרֵיךָ (לֹא אֶחָל לֵל בְּרִיתִי) / καὶ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα διὰ τῶν χειλέων μου οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσω.

4. The קוֹל of the Lord occurs 13 times in our Book (18.14; 29.3, 4 *bis*, 5, 7, 8, and 9; 46.7; 68.34; 81.12; 95.7; and 106.25) and is always translated literally by φωνή, e. g., 18.14 קוֹל יְיָ וְלִי יִתְּנֵה / οὐρανὸς ἐξέδωκεν φωνήν αὐτοῦ; 29.5 קוֹל יְיָ (שֹׁכֵן בְּרָק) / φωνὴ κυρίου (συντρίβοντος κέδρους). When the translator does, however, paraphrase קוֹל — by προσευχή — the voice is the Psalmist's, not God's, e. g., 64.2 קוֹלִי בְּשִׁחִי / εἰσάκουσον, ὁ θεός, τῆς φωνῆς (G<sup>B</sup> τῆς προσευχῆς) μου; 130.2 קוֹלִי בְּקוֹלִי / κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς (G<sup>A</sup> τῆς προσευχῆς) μου. Were there any strong objection to this anthropomorphism, he might well have used λόγος,

which appears for קול in Jer. 38.20<sup>6</sup> and which would have accorded well with Alexandrian philosophical terminology. It may be noted that although the attribution of speech and voice to the Lord constitutes anthropomorphism, even the Targums do not paraphrase or employ hypostases of God when these terms are used in reference to Him.

5. There are 7 instances of the הָ of the Lord (18.9; 33.6; 105.5; 119.13, 72, 88; and 138.4) in our Book. It is regularly translated by τὸ στόμα except in 18.9, וְאִשְׁמִי חֲאָל / (ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν ὄργῃ αὐτοῦ,) καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ κατεφλόγισεν. פִּי appears as πρόσωπον here and also in 55.22, which is discussed in § 19 below. In MT of this verse the Lord is not the subject, but He is taken as such by the LXX translator, וְאִשְׁמִי חֲאָל / (ἐκείνη ἡ ὄργη τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν) καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν.

Some scholars would explain ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ in these two verses as from מִלְּפָנָיו (for MT וּמִפְּנֵי), but this is not likely. (1) Two independent instances are involved, in the second of which (55.22) מִלְּפָנָיו would be senseless; (2) In Prov. 2.6 חֵן חֶכְמָה מִפִּי דָעַת (בְּיָהוּהוּ) is likewise reproduced by (ὅτι κύριος δίδωσιν σοφίαν) καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (γενῶσις καὶ σὺνεσις) — where some would assume “G וּמִפְּנֵי vel מִלְּפָנָיו” (e. g., Beer, in *BH*<sup>3</sup>). Three such instances of πρόσωπον / מִפְּנֵי (מִלְּפָנָיו) render מִלְּפָנָיו most unlikely.

6. There are 11 instances in our Book of the “ear(s)” (אָזְנוֹתַי) of the Lord (10.17; 17.6; 18.7; 31.3; 34.16; 71.2; 86.1; 88.3; 102.3; 116.2; and 130.2). It is always translated as οὖς-ῶτα, e. g., 10.17: תִּקְשִׁיב אָזְנְךָ / προσέσχεν τὸ οὖς σου; 116.2: לִי אָזְנוֹ לִי / ὅτι ἔκλινεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ ἐμοί.

The verb אָזְנוֹן occurs 15 times in Psalms. To translate it, ἐνωτί-ζεσθαι is used 11 times. Of these eleven, the verb occurs with the Lord as subject 9 times (5.2; 17.1; 39.13; 54.4; 55.2; 84.9; 86.6; 140.7; and 143.1), once with man as the subject (49.2), and once, with the idols (135.17). For the remaining 4 instances of אָזְנוֹן, προσέχειν is

<sup>6</sup> LXX 45.20, where יהוה בקול אֶשְׁמַעֲנָא appears as ἀκουσον τὸν λόγον κυρίου.



used. Of these four instances, it occurs with the Lord as the subject 3 times (77.2; 80.2; and 141.1) and with man as the subject, once (78.1). The following examples should suffice to illustrate: 55.2 הִשְׁמַחַתְּ בְּתַלְמֵי תְּהוֹמוֹת / ένωτισαι, ὁ θεός, τὴν προσευχήν μου; 77.2 לִי אֱלֹהִים וְהִשְׁמַחַתְּ בְּתַלְמֵי תְּהוֹמוֹת / (φωνῇ μου πρὸς τὸν θεόν,) καὶ προσέσχευ μοι.

προσέχειν also occurs in a case involving the Lord, where the anthropomorphic verb does not appear in the Hebrew but has been added by the translator for stylistic effect: 22.2 אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי לִמְךָ צוּבָתָי / ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι· ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με.

7. There are 12 instances in MT Psalms of the עֵינַיִם ("eyes") of the Lord. Of these, 10 are translated literally by ὀφθαλμός (5.6; 11.4; 17.2; 18.25; 31.23; 32.8; 33.18; 34.16; 90.4; and 139.16). Some examples are: 11.4 וְעֵינַיִם יְהוָה (עַפְעָפִי וְיָהֳנוּ בְּנֵי אָדָם) אֲבֹנִים / οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν πέννητα ἀποβλέπουσιν, (τὰ βλέφαρα αὐτοῦ ἐξατάζει τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων); 31.23 וְעֵינַיִם מִן־הַיָּם אֲבֹנִים / ἀπέρριμμαι ἄρα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου. In the remaining 2 instances, both cases of prepositional בְּעֵינַיִם, the translator correctly used the preposition ἐνώπιον, ἐναντίον: 51.6 וְהִרְעַבְתִּי בְּעֵינַיִם / καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα; 116.15 יָקָר יְהוָה יְהוָה (הַמִּתְּחִיל לְחַסְדֵּי) בְּעֵינַיִם / τίμιος ἐναντίον κυρίου (ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ).

In 17.2 עֵינַיִם תַּחֲנוּגָה מִשְׁרָשָׁם becomes οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἰδέτωσαν εὐθύτητας, and it is not unlikely that the LXX translator based his reading on an original עֵינַיִם, which accords well with the context; cf. e. g., Buhl in *BH*<sup>3</sup>, "G עֵינַי prb recte."

90.4, which is cited above, is an instance where the translator is more literal in rendering an "anthropomorphism" in a case involving the Lord than he is with the same phrase when God is not involved. Although בְּעֵינַיִם is generally reproduced ἐνώπιον or ἐναντίον, in 90.4, where it is the Lord that is addressed, the figure of speech is literally spelled out: ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου. Of course, in view of 51.6 and 116.15, one can hardly say that the translator is especially literal in cases involving God; and it is hardly more than coincidence that in every instance of בְּעֵינַיִם with reference to *man* the "anthropomorphism" is avoided by the use of ἐνώπιον (15.4; 36.3; and 72.14) or ἐναντίον (73.6 and 98.2).

8. The דְּיָדָיִם of the Lord occur 38 times in our Book,<sup>7</sup> and in every instance it is reproduced literally by the appropriate form of ἡ χεῖρ,

<sup>7</sup> 8.7; 10.12; 14; 17.14; 19.2; 28.5; 31.6; 16; 32.4; 38.3; 39.11; 44.3; 74.11; 75.9; 78.42; 80.18; 81.15; 88.6; 89.14; 22; 92.5; 95.4; 5, 7; 102.26; 104.28; 106.26; 109.27; 111.7; 119.73; 173; 136.12; 138.7; 8; 139.10; 143.5; 144.7; and 145.16.





12. The מַיְצָחִים of the Lord are mentioned once, and translated literally: 8.4 מַיְצָחִים מַעֲשֵׂי (כִּי אֲרָאָה שְׁמִידָה) / (ὅτι ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,) ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων σου.

13. There is one instance of the אֲבִרָה ("pinion") of God: 91.4 אֲבִרָתוֹ לְךָ / ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σοι. Μετάφρeron is also used in the only other instance of אֲבִרָה in Psalms, 68.14, where the reference is to a dove.

14. The חֵיק ("bosom") of the Lord is rendered literally in the LXX of the following verse: 74.11 חֵיקְךָ מְקַרֵּב וַיִּמְיָדְךָ / (לְמָה תְּשִׁיב יָדְךָ וַיִּמְיָדְךָ) / (Kethib = חֵיקְךָ; Qre =) / (ἵνα τί ἀποστρέφεις τὴν χεῖρά σου καὶ τὴν δεξιάν σου) ἐκ μέσου τοῦ κόλπου σου εἰς τέλος.

15. There are 2 instances of the פְּעָמִים ("steps") of God. In both cases, the translator has reproduced the anthropomorphism literally, though differently in each case: 74.3 פְּעָמֶיךָ / ἔπαρον τὰς χεῖράς σου; 85.14 פְּעָמָיו: לְדָרְךָ וַיִּשֶׁם / καὶ θήσει εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ διαβήματα αὐτοῦ. Διάβημα is the most common translation of פְּעָמִים in Psalms (cf. 17.5; 85.14; 119.133; and 140.5. In none of these cases is the reference to God). Χεῖρ, usually the translation for יָד, is used not only in 74.3 but also in 58.11 (where God is not involved): (נֶשְׁמַח צְדִיק בִּיְהוָה נֶגְם) / (נֶשְׁמַח צְדִיק בִּיְהוָה נֶגְם) / (עֲוֹנוֹתָי אֶפְשָׁר וְיִשְׁלַח יְדָיו מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם) / (ἐύφρανθήσεται δίκαιος, ὅταν ἴδῃ ἐκδίκησιν ἀσεβῶν) τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ νίψεται ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ.

In the Hatch-Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 1463, these instances of χεῖρ are followed by an obelus, which would indicate "that the identification of the Greek and Hebrew is doubtful" (*ibid.* vi). However, it would seem clear that the translator used χεῖρ in both 58.11 and 74.3 for פְּעָמִים and no other word. We might not agree with his translation; but we have no grounds for questioning the identification in the translator's mind. Nor is it necessary to assume כַּפִּי (so, e. g., Buhl in *BH*<sup>3</sup>) in the LXX-*Vorlage* in 58.11 and 74.3; cf. Schleusner, s. χεῖρ, p. 515. To conclude this matter of פְּעָמִים, it might be noted that our translator also uses ποὺς in 57.7. But, whether ποὺς, χεῖρ, or διάβημα, the anthropomorphism remains.

16. Our Book affords 3 examples of the רַגְלִים of the Lord; all of them are literally translated with ποὺς: 18.10 וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּרְדֵּם / καὶ γνόςφος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ; 99.5 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶיָהּ / καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τῷ ὑποποδίῳ τῷ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ; 132.7 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶיָהּ / καὶ προσκυνήσομεν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ.

Both 18.10 and 132.7 should be enough to negate the premise that

motion and place are denied God in the LXX (cf. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, chap. IV). The entire idea is not to be included in this paper for a number of reasons: the ascription or denial of motion and place to God has little to do with anthropomorphism; it is patently incorrect to explain away any paraphrases by means of such an hypothesis in view of the numerous examples in the LXX of the Psalter of the literal translation of such phrases as אֱלֹהִים / יְהוָה and other instances of suffixed forms of בֵּית, etc., where the reference is to God, etc.; cf. my "Critical Note" in *JBL*, 75 (1956), 144-5.

17. There are 6 references to the כְּנָפִים of the Lord in our Book, all of which are literally reproduced by πτέρυξ: 17.8; 36.8 בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ; 63.8; 57.2 וּבְצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ / καὶ ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ (57.2 σκία) τῶν πτερύγων σου; 61.5 בְּסֶתֶר כְּנָפֶיךָ / ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου; 91.4 וְנִסַּח כְּנָפָיו תַּחֲסֶה / καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐλπιεῖς.

18. In translating רוּחַ the LXX generally used either πνεῦμα or ἄνεμος. Ἄνεμος, which occurs 7 times in Psalms, and always as a translation of רוּחַ, means simply "wind." The passages are: 1.4; 18.11, 43; 35.15; 83.14; 104.3; and 135.17. However, it must be noted that πνεῦμα, too, is used in passages where the meaning is obviously "wind," e. g., 11.6; 48.8; 103.16; 104.4; 107.25; and 148.8. Πνεῦμα is usually translated into English as "spirit." But since the meaning of πνεῦμα includes the idea of "wind," it ought not be taken in a thoroughly non-material sense, but as, approximately, "breath."

There are 5 instances of the רוּחַ of the Lord in our Book. In every case רוּחַ appears as πνεῦμα: 51.13 (אֱלֹהִים קָדְשׁ / καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου; 104.30 (יְבִרָאִיךָ / ἐξαπεστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου; 139.7 מְרוּחְךָ / ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου; 143.10 (תַּנְחֵנִי) מִבֶּקֶה מְרוּחְךָ / τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἀγαθόν; 147.18 יֵשֶׁב רוּחוֹ (יָזְלוּ) / πνεύσει τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ.

Had רוּחַ been translated ἄνεμος in any of the above verses, the figure of speech would have been somewhat more material, almost palpable. But anthropomorphic is one thing it would not have been. Let us put it this way: "His wind" (רוּחַ / ἄνεμος) is in the same category as "His ice" and "His cold" (147.17 מְשַׁלֵּיךָ קָרְחוֹ בַּפְתִּים לִפְנֵי / βάλλοντος κρύσταλλον αὐτοῦ ὥσεὶ ψωμούς, κατὰ πρόσωπον ψυχῶν αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστήσεται), material things which are His, and which He sends to the world. But His πνεῦμα, His "breath," is a part of Him. Although the figure of speech is less material, it is anthropomorphic in a way in which His ἄνεμος is not. That is, the πνεῦμα is a part of man; it is that which is present in a

living man and departs from him at his death (146.4 תָּצֵא רִחוֹ וְיָשָׁב / ἐξελεύσεται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπιστρέψει εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ). It is in this sense that we can say that when the Lord is said to have a πνεῦμα we have a kind of anthropomorphism, equivalent to the Hebrew רִיחַ, which we do not have in an instance of the Lord's ἄνεμος.

With the idea clearly in mind that πνεῦμα is not the non-material "spirit," but bears the meaning "breath," we now turn to the two remaining verses in our Book in which π. bears a relation to the Lord: 18.16 מְנַחֵם רִיחַ מִנְחָם / ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμήσεως σου, κύριε, ἀπὸ ἐμπνεύσεως πνεύματος ὀργῆς σου; 33.6 וּבְרִיחַ (וְנֶשֶׁם) יְהוָה שְׁמִים / καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν. The translation of רִיחַ by ὀργή in 18.16, instead of ῥίς, will be discussed later (§ 20 below). The translation of 18.16 shows no sign of any anti-anthropomorphic tendency; מְנַחֵם is literally reproduced ἐπιτιμήσεως, and מִנְחָם, ἐμπνεύσεως. Obviously πνεῦμα, rather than ἄνεμος, is used here and in 33.6 because in both passages רִיחַ means "breath" rather than the "wind" which is not part of the Lord. We might compare the translation of וּבְרִיחַ in 33.6 with a similar expression in 135.17, where אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רִיחַ בְּפִיהֶם — the idols are described here — is rendered by οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν. It is a sign of their nothing-ness that idols do not have a πνεῦμα. To have avoided the use of πνεῦμα in connection with God would have been much worse than anthropomorphism.

19. There are 2 instances in MT Psalms of the לב of God: 33.11 (לִדָּר וְדָר) / λογισμοὶ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ; 27.8 (אֶת־פָּנָיו יְהוָה אֲבָקָשׁ) / σοὶ εἶπεν ἡ καρδία μου Ἐξήτησεν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, (τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, κύριε, ζητήσω). Ἐξήτησεν . . . is the rendering preferred by Rahlfs. However, in Vaticanus (B) and Alexandrinus (A) the verse appears as ἐξεξήτησα τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, (τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, κύριε, ζητήσω). By taking the verb as ἐξεξήτησα, ἡ καρδία μου is to be taken as the heart of the Psalmist. Yet, inasmuch as the פָּנִים of the Lord is literally reproduced twice (and in the first of these two instances פָּנִים is rendered τὸ πρόσωπόν σου so that there can be no mistake as to whose "face" is meant,) it would be futile to attempt to see any anti-anthropomorphic tendency in accounting for the differences between BA and MT.

In 55.22 there is an instance of לבו which the LXX translator takes to be the heart of the Lord although the pronominal reference is by no means certain in MT. This verse can be best understood in the context of the preceding verses: 55.20 יִשְׁמַע אֵל וְיַעֲנֵם וְיִשְׁבַּח קִרְם סֶלָה אֲשֶׁר





no instance whatever in the LXX of our Book to indicate avoidance of the obvious anthropopathisms inherent in the idea of the Lord's having an אַף. It bothers the translator so little that he elucidates the reference to the Lord in 77.10 אִם-קָפַץ בָּאֵף רַחֲמָיו (הַשְׂכַּח חַנוּת אֵל) / (ἡ ἐπι-λῆσεται τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι ὁ θεὸς) ἡ συνέξει ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ.

The term אַף, which originally denoted "nostril," came to mean "anger" by the association of heavy breathing in connection with that emotion. This was true in all cases, those involving man as well as those in which God was involved. This development took place long before the composition of the LXX; it was part of the development of the Hebrew language. No trace of the meaning "nostril" remains in such verses as 2.5 אֶזְכֹּר אֱלִימוֹ בְּאַפּוֹ; 2.12 כִּי-יִבְעַר בְּמַעַט אַפּוֹ; 6.2 וַיְהִי אֵל-בְּאַפּוֹ תוֹכִיחֵנִי; 7.7 קוֹמָה יְהוָה בְּאַפּוֹ; etc. Of the 29 times that אַף is used in connection with the Lord, 26 are instances where אַף clearly means "anger" rather than "nostril"; and the translator has correctly used ὀργή or θυμός. The 3 other instances are: 18.9, 16; and 74.1. In the last case, to have translated the phrase יָעַשׂ אַפּוֹ with ῥίς καπνίζειν would not have conveyed the meaning as well as does the usage which our translator did employ, viz., 74.1: וַיִּחַתּוּ אֱלֹהִים נִחַת / (ἔνα τί ἀπώσω, ὁ θεός, εἰς τέλος,) ὠργίσθη ὁ θυμός σου ἐπὶ πρόβαρα νομῆς σου. Although the anthropomorphism ("nostril") is not present here in the Greek, there is ample reason to doubt that this is due to anti-anthropomorphism on the part of the translator. First, the absence of any evidence for anti-anthropomorphism in his handling of the anthropomorphic figures of speech we reviewed in the previous chapter, e. g. "hand," "eyes," "ears," etc., and including יָעַשׂ אָזְנוֹ = χεῖρας in 74.3. Second, the expression יָעַשׂ אַפּוֹ is used by the Psalmist as a parallel to וַיִּחַתּוּ; the idea of "anger" is much more important to the parallelism than the literal figure of speech. Third, we are not dealing with the word אַף alone, but with an idiom consisting of 2 words, יָעַשׂ אַפּוֹ; and what is a perfectly understandable idiom in Hebrew might be far from clear in Greek or any other language. Not only the LXX translator, but many other translators not concerned at all with the problem of anthropomorphism have quite naturally, and correctly, associated אַף with the idea of "anger" rather than literally "nostril", e. g., AV and JPS "why doth

p. 313. Cf. Schleusner, s. ὀργή / רָעַע, for another explanation; also Mozley, *ad loc.*; Baethgen, *ad loc.* (p. 620), believes that the translator "identified" רָעַע with גִּעְרָה.



Thine anger smoke"; Luther, "warum . . . bist so grimmig zornig"; Oesterley, "Thine anger burns lurid"; Kissane, "Why does Thy anger rage." In short, the use of ὀργή for נַס in 74.1 was motivated by stylistic rather than theological considerations.

With regard to 18.9 and 16, we cannot say that other translators have used periphrasis. AV, JPS, Luther, etc., translate נַס literally in these 2 cases; the LXX translator chose "anger". But that does not mean (as Flashar believes it does, *ZAW*, 21, p. 260) that anti-anthropomorphism is involved. The contrary can be shown to be the case: in 18.7 נַסִּי was spelled out more literally than usual, εἰς τὰ ὠτα αὐτοῦ; in 18.10 נִגְנִי was reproduced literally τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ; וְקוֹל in 18.14 was also rendered without any attempt to avoid the anthropomorphism. Consequently, we can rule out anti-anthropomorphism as a factor in our translator's use of ὀργή for נַס in 18.9, 16. But we cannot rule out style simply because modern translators have found no difficulty with a literal rendering. It is not unlikely that our translator used ὀργή in 18.9 to parallel לוֹ בִּיחָהָ / ὅτι ὠργίσθη αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός in the preceding verse; similarly in 18.16 ὀργή may well have been used as a parallel to נִצְרַתְּ / ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμῆσεώς σου. The above suggestions are no more than tentative, and are made only in an attempt to find a reason for our translator's use of ὀργή in the very few cases where נַס seems to bear the meaning "nostrils" in MT, a problem which is not really within the scope of this paper inasmuch as we have already ruled out the hypothesis of anti-anthropomorphism. In view of the entire discussion of this problem, Fritsch's observations on this problem in the Pentateuch seem colored by the need to find evidence for anti-anthropomorphism even in places where it doesn't exist: (*op. cit.*, p. 12): "The Seventy accepted and translated the secondary meaning of this word, using the words ὀργή and θυμός, thus obscuring the physical association." One might wonder why the LXX translator should find it necessary to "obscure" (deliberately, one would suppose) the physical meaning of נַס when, as Fritsch readily admits (*idem*, p. 15), "in most cases the translators literally rendered the anthropomorphisms of the Hebrew text." His other hypothesis, the "LXX's consistent adherence to a definite pattern of translation," is not valid for Psalms; where our translator felt that "nostril" was the meaning, he did not hesitate to use ῥίς rather than ὀργή: 115.6 וְיִחָן וְלֹא נַס לָהֶם / ῥίνας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ὁσφρανθήσονται. To have followed a "consistent adherence to a definite pattern of translation" would have meant to use ὀργή here. But since this would not have provided the proper contrast with וְיִחָן וְלֹא / καὶ οὐκ ὁσφρανθήσονται, our translator quite naturally and correctly employed ῥίς.

21. Our Book has 4 instances of the verb  $\text{הָאָן}$  with the Lord as subject; it is consistently translated  $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ : 2.12  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / (\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon \ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma) \ \mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon \ \delta\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta \ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (καὶ ἀπολεισθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ δικαίας. ὅταν ἐκκαυθῇ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ) — note that the translator clearly identifies the subject,  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; 60.3  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / (\sigma \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega \ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \ \kappa\alpha\iota \ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma \ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma,) \ \acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\varsigma$ ; 79.5  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / \acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma \ \pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon, \ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon, \ \delta\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\eta \ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ; 85.6  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / \mu\acute{\eta} \ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \ \tau\omicron\nu \ \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha \ \delta\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\eta \ \eta\mu\iota\nu$  (ἢ διατενεῖς τὴν ὁργὴν σου ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν).

$\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  is used also to translate the verbs  $\text{וְשָׁן}$  and  $\text{וְיָב}$  with the Lord as subject.<sup>10</sup> 80.5  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon \ \acute{o} \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \ \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\omega\nu, \ \acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma \ \pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon \ \delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta$  (ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου); 103.9  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / \acute{o}\ddot{u}\kappa \ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \delta\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηνιεῖ).<sup>11</sup>

22.  $\text{הָאָן}$  appears with the Lord as subject twice in our Book. As with  $\text{וְשָׁן}$  the translator has used  $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ : 18.8  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / (\kappa\alpha\iota \ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu) \ \acute{o}\tau\iota \ \acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \acute{o} \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; 106.40  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} / \kappa\alpha\iota \ \acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta \ \theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega} \ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \ \tau\omicron\nu \ \lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\omega\upsilon$ .

Note that in 18.8 the translator added  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \acute{o} \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  for reasons of style, so providing the verb with a subject and an object. Clearly, the stylistic consideration was more important to him than the anthropopathism of the verb; otherwise he would hardly have gratuitously stressed that its subject was  $\acute{o} \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ .<sup>12</sup> A similar consideration underlies his treatment of  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן}$  in 106.40, where he takes  $\text{וְהָאָן}$  to be the subject rather than His  $\text{וְהָאָן}$ , which he renders as  $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}$ <sup>13</sup> (instead of  $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma \ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ). The Targum, which usually avoids anthropopathisms, renders this verse  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן}$ . We might add that the LXX translation of  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן}$  as  $\acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta \ \theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}$  is not to be accounted for by the presence of the *maqgef* connecting the two words; a similar transla-

<sup>10</sup> In 104.32 and 144.5, where the subject is “mountains,”  $\text{וְשָׁן}$  appears as  $\kappa\alpha\pi\text{-}\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ .  $\text{וְשָׁן}$  never appears with man as subject.  $\text{וְיָב} = \delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  in 35.1; 43.1; and 74.22. But  $\text{וְיָב} = \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  in 119.154. There are no other instances of  $\text{וְיָב}$  in our Book.

<sup>11</sup> It may be observed here that  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu$  is also used for  $\text{וְנָטַר}$  in Lev. 19.18, where God is not involved, and in Jer. 3.12, where God is involved.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. II Sam. 22.8, where the same Hebrew is reproduced by  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta \ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\omega\iota\varsigma$ .

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ex. 22.23; 32.19 (Moses is the subject); Num. 22.22; 25.3; 32.10, 13; Deut. 7.4; 29.26; 31.17. But in Ps. 124.3:  $\text{וְהָאָן הָאָן הָאָן} = \acute{\epsilon}\nu \ \tau\acute{\omega} \ \delta\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\gamma\alpha\iota \ \tau\omicron\nu \ \theta\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\omega\iota\nu \ \acute{\epsilon}\varphi' \ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , because there was no better way to render the (possessive) suffixed  $\text{וְהָאָן}$ .

tion is given for Ex. 22.23 and Deut. 31.17 where there is no *maqgef*.

**23.** There are 5 instances of the *הָיוֹן* of the Lord in our Book. It is always reproduced literally, either by *ὀργή* or by *θυμός*: 2.5 *וַיִּדְבֶּר* / *(τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ,)* *καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταραξεί αὐτούς*; 69.25 *וַיִּחַר אַפָּי וַיִּשְׁנֶם* / *καὶ ὁ θυμός τῆς ὀργῆς σου καταλάβοι αὐτούς*; 78.49 *וַיִּשְׁלַח בָּם רוּחַ אַפּוֹ* / *ἐξαπεστείλεν εἰς αὐτούς ὀργὴν θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ*; 85.4 *וַיִּשְׁבִּיבוּ מַחֲרוֹן אַפָּי* / *ἀπέστρεψας ἀπὸ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ σου*; 88.17 *וַיִּחַר עֲבָרֵי עָלֵי* / *ἐπ' ἐμέ διήλθον αἱ ὀργαί σου*.<sup>14</sup>

**24.** The *הָקָה* of the Lord appears in 10 instances in Psalms: 6.2; 38.2; 59.14; 76.11; 78.38; 79.6; 88.8; 89.47; 90.7; and 106.23. It is rendered *ὀργή* 7 times, *θυμός* twice (88.8; 90.7), and *ἐνθύμιον* once (76.11). The usual translation, with *הָקָה*=*ὀργή*, may be illustrated by 6.2: *וַיִּהְיֶה אֵלֵי-בִּאשָׁף וְכֹחֵי וְאֵלֵי-בְּהִמָּתָהּ תִּסְרְנִי* / *κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξης με, μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσης με*. The same translation is given for 38.2: *וַיִּהְיֶה אֵלֵי-בְּקָצָפָי וְכֹחֵי וְכִסְתָּהּ תִּסְרְנִי*; the translator used *μηδὲ* to express the second negation which the Hebrew Psalmist simply left implied.

In the following example, the translator's understanding of the syntax is different from that of MT; but the anthropopathism remains: 59.13, 14 *וַיִּסְפְּרוּ בְּלֵה בְּהִסָּה בְּלֵה וַאֲיִמּוֹ* / *καὶ ἐξ ἀρᾶς καὶ ψεύδους διαγγελῆσονται συντέλειαι ἐν ὀργῇ συντελείας, καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑπάρξωσιν*.

The translator uses *θυμός* for *הָקָה* in the following two instances: 90.7 *וַיִּבְהִמָּהּ וַיִּבְהִלֵּנוּ* / *(ὅτι ἐξελίπομεν ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ σου,)* *καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐταράχθημεν*; 88.8 *וַיִּחַר עֲבָרֵי עָלֵי* / *ἐπ' ἐμέ ἐπεστερίχθη ὁ θυμός σου*.

*ἐνθύμιον* is used for *הָקָה* twice in 76.11 (incidentally the sole instances of *ἐνθύμιον* in the entire LXX): *בְּיַחַם אֶתְּ תוֹדָה שְׁאֵרֵי חַמָּה* / *ὅτι ἐνθύμιον ἀνθρώπου ἐξομολογήσεται σοι, καὶ ἐγκατάλειμμα ἐνθυμίου ἐορτάσει σοι*. The meaning of this verse is obscure in the Hebrew; the translation also presents problems. However, that anti-anthropopathism is no factor here can be seen in the fact that

<sup>14</sup> In the following verse we find an anthropopathism in the LXX for which there is no correspondent in the Hebrew: 58.10 *וַיִּשְׁעֲרֹן בְּמוֹתָי בְּמוֹתָי* / *ὥσεί ζῶντας ὥσει ἐν ὀργῇ καταπίεται ὑμᾶς*. The translator fails to understand *הָיוֹן* as contrasting with *יָי*, and gives us instead an adverbial use of *הָיוֹן*. The fact that the subject of *καταπίεται* is the Lord makes *ἐν ὀργῇ* refer to Him, (though there is some possibility that it refers to the objects of the verb).

25. The *הרה* of the Lord occurs 4 times in our Book: 78.49; 85.4; 90.9 and 111. It appears as *ὀργή* in the first two of these instances, and as *θυμός* in the last two, e. g., 78.49 *וְהָעַם עָבְרָה וְאָרָה* / (ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν θυμὸς αὐτοῦ,) *θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ θλίψιν*; 90.11 *וּבִירְאָתָה עָבְרָתָּהּ* / (τίς γινώσκει τὸ κράτος τῆς ὀργῆς σου) *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου σου τὸν θυμὸν σου*.

The present participle occurs once in Psalms: 7.12 וְלֹא יָעַם בְּבָל יוֹם (ὁ θεὸς κριτῆς δίκαιος,) καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μακρόθυμος μὴ ὀργήν ἐπάγων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. While it may be true that this translation does not present the anthropopathism present in MT (i. e., וְלֹא יָעַם) the difference can hardly be attributed to a deliberate change on the part of the translator (as Baethgen, p. 597; M. Flashar, pp. 264–5). For, if he meant to avoid or soften anthropopathisms, why should he do so only here, with the verb, but not with the nouns in the four instances of יָעַם cited above? A more plausible explanation may be found in his having read וְלֹא for MT וְלֹא יָעַם, a phenomenon which also occurs in 90.2, 3: יַמְעוֹלִים עַד-עוֹלָם אָתָּה אֵל / καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. מִן הַיָּמִים עַד-כָּל-יְמֵינוּ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ / καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἑως τῶν μελλόντων σὺ εἶ. The latter two examples are clearly due to a confusion between the infinitive construct and the participle.

In 106.32  $\eta\zeta\eta$  is attributed to the Lord inasmuch as He is the object of the verb: 106.32  $\eta\zeta\eta$   $\text{עַל־יְמֵי מְרִיבָה}$  /  $\text{καὶ παρώργισαν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀντιλογίας}$ .

28. The כַּעַס of the Lord occurs once in Psalms; it is reproduced literally as θυμός: 85.5 וְהָפַר כַּעַסָּךָ עָמְנוּ / καὶ ἀποστρέψον τὸν θυμόν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν. In 2 instances, כַּעַס is attributed to God inasmuch as He is the object of the verb: 78.58 וַיַּעֲרִיבוּהוּ בְּבִמְתָּם / καὶ παρώργισαν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς βουνοῖς αὐτῶν; 106.29 וַתַּעֲרִיבוּהוּ בְּמַעַלְלֵיהֶם (תַּעֲרִיבָהּ בָּם).

(:הַמַּלְאָכִים / καὶ παρώξυναν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν, (καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ πτώσις).

29. הַמַּלְאָכִים is attributed to the Lord twice in our Book and reproduced literally: 78.58 וַיִּגְדֹּל יְהוָה בְּעֵינֵי הָעָם / καὶ ἐν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς αὐτῶν παρεξήλωσαν αὐτόν; 79.5 תִּבְעַר בְּמוֹאֵשׁ הַמַּלְאָכִים / ἔκκαυθήσεται ὡς πῦρ ὁ ζήλος σου.

30. God's הַמַּלְאָכִים is mentioned, and literally translated, twice in Psalms: 5.6 אֲנִי אֵלֹהִים בְּלִפְנֵי אֲנִי / ἐμίσησας (B, A, κύριε) πάντας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν ἀνομίαν; ; 11.5 וַיִּהְיֶה כַּדִּיקָא וַיִּהְיֶה כַּדִּיקָא / κύριος ἐξετάζει τὸν δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἀσεβῆ, ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν ἀδικίαν μισεῖ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχὴν. The translator considered the pronominal reference of הַמַּלְאָכִים to be הַמַּלְאָכִים rather than וַיִּהְיֶה; and he took הַמַּלְאָכִים to be the subject of the verb. MT הַמַּלְאָכִים requires a feminine subject, which is supplied by הַמַּלְאָכִים. However, if the translator read הַמַּלְאָכִים, הַמַּלְאָכִים would then have to be taken as the object of the verb, and its pronominal reference would have to be הַמַּלְאָכִים. In any case, we may rule out the possibility of a deliberate anti-anthropopathism here in view of 5.6 above, and in view of the following instance, in which the translator takes the subject of the verb to be the Lord, as against the Psalmist who is certainly the subject in MT: 31.7 וַיִּשְׁמַח יְהוָה בְּלִי שֹׁן / ἐμίσησας τοὺς διαφυλάσσοντας ματαιότητας διὰ κενῆς. Buhl, in BH<sup>3</sup>, would emend as הַמַּלְאָכִים on the basis of 1 Ms. and Versions. So, too, Baethgen (*JPT*, 8, p. 62). As he also points out in his *Handkommentar, die Psalmen* (Göttingen 1904) p. 86, the second person gives more meaning to the following וַיִּשְׁמַח. Whether the *Vorlage* was second person or first person, the fact remains that the LXX translator did not shrink from attributing the emotion of hatred to God.

## CONCLUSIONS

A. Although there may be an exegetical pattern in the LXX translation of Psalms, it would seem that anti-anthropomorphism and anti-anthropopathism played no part in that pattern. Indeed, the translator usually rendered the anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms literally, and occasionally rendered some (such as הַמַּלְאָכִים, הַמַּלְאָכִים, הַמַּלְאָכִים, and הַמַּלְאָכִים) even more literally than was necessary.

B. It would also appear that the LXX of Psalms is the work of a single translator; we found no significant differences in vocabulary or

style within the 150 Psalms. In spite of occasional lapses, the translator seems to have had a very good knowledge of the Hebrew language.

C. The differences between MT and LXX are not always the result either of deliberate mistranslation or mistaken interpretation; in some instances they are due to differences between MT and the translator's *Vorlage*. Although great caution ought to be taken before emending MT on the basis of a conjectural reconstruction of the LXX *Vorlage*, it is not always unwarranted to do so (e. g., 42.6, 7 discussed in section 1a).





## DER ACHTUNDZWANZIGSTE ADAR

ERNST BAMMEL, Brasenose College, Oxford

IN DER an Interpretationsschwierigkeiten reichen Fastenrolle sind die Meinungsverschiedenheiten über den Hintergrund des jom tob am 28. Adar besonders gross. Die historischen Fixierungen der Bestimmung, die die Behinderung der Gesetzeserfüllung aufhob, gehen mehr als drei Jahrhunderte auseinander. I. N. Derenbourg,<sup>1</sup> S. Zeitlin,<sup>2</sup> E. Bickermann<sup>3</sup> plädierten für das Jahr 148 Sel = 165/64,<sup>4</sup> H. Lichtenstein<sup>5</sup> für 150 Sel, Heinr. Ewald<sup>6</sup> für die erste Zeit Hadrians (vor Ausbruch des jüdischen Aufstands), H. Grätz,<sup>7</sup> J. Schmilg,<sup>8</sup> Ad. Schlatter,<sup>9</sup> J. Gutmann,<sup>10</sup> J. C. Dancy<sup>11</sup> für 139 oder 140 und G. Dalman<sup>12</sup> schloss sich dem eventualiter an. Diese Divergenz ist umso merkwürdiger, als für die Nachricht eine Erläuterung erhalten ist, die nicht nur in dem verhältnismässig späten Scholion<sup>13</sup> vorliegt sondern fast wörtlich schon in zwei talmudischen Stellen (Taan. 18a, R. hasch. 19a) vorkommt, deren eine gar eine Baraita ist.

Spricht man sich für die zuerst genannte Erklärung aus, so gewinnt

<sup>1</sup> *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palésthine* (1867), S. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *JQR*, 1919, S. 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (1937), S. 159.

<sup>4</sup> An diese Zeit scheint auch J. Selden, *De synedriis veterum Hebraeorum* (1655), S. 248, zu denken, wenn er 'reges Graeciae' interpretiert. — Joh. Meyer, der zweite Kommentator der Fastenrolle ist ganz unsicher, ob es sich um griechische oder römische Zeit handelt (מלח תענית) Volumen de jejuniis, Amsterdam, 1724, S. 110).

<sup>5</sup> *HUCA* VIII/IX (1931/32), S. 279.

<sup>6</sup> *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel* VII<sup>2</sup> (1868), S. 402: Aquila soll den Juden die Nachricht überbracht haben.

<sup>7</sup> *Jüd. Gesch.*, IV<sup>4</sup>, S. 169.

<sup>8</sup> *Ueber Entstehung u. histor. Werth d. Siegeskalenders* M. T. (Diss., Lpzg, 1874), S. 29. S. auch L. Lewin, *Rabbi Simon b. Jochai* (1893), S. 42 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Gesch. Israels*<sup>3</sup>, S. 380, 453.

<sup>10</sup> *Enc. Jud.*, 2, 1115.

<sup>11</sup> *First Maccabees* (1954), S. 98 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Aram. Dialektproben*<sup>1</sup>, S. 34.

<sup>13</sup> Die Forschung begann mit der klaren Erkenntnis Seldens (c. 13, §13), dass es sich um den Kommentar (expositio) zu einem älteren Buch gleichen Namens handele. Sie wurde durch G. Bartolucci (in *Bibl. Rabb.* III [1683], S. 258), der die Teile der Fastenrolle für Exzerpte aus der Gemara hielt und Meyer (Praef., S. 3 f.), der eine Entstehung des ganzen Werks (mit Scholie) in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels annahm, nur verdunkelt. — Der Text jetzt am besten bei Lichtenstein, a. a. O., S. 350.

man in 2 Makk. 11.27 einen Kontext. Aber dies 'halbe Zugeständnis'<sup>14</sup> des Syrers wurde von den Aufständischen nicht angenommen und war bald durch die Tatsachen überholt. Lichtensteins Hinweis auf 2 Makk. 11.21–26 aber, welche Stelle in der Tat einen wirklichen Einschnitt bezeichnet, ist alsbald durch Bickermanns Identifizierung dieses Ereignisses mit dem 28. Schebet<sup>15</sup> gegenstandslos geworden.

Die Zuweisung in die hadrianische Zeit<sup>16</sup> hat für sich, dass sie mit dem Zeugnis des Scholions und der talmudischen Parallelstellen in eine Beziehung gebracht werden kann. Erschwert wird freilich diese Ansetzung durch die Indizien, die für eine frühere Redigierung der Fastenrolle, wahrscheinlich im ersten jüdischen Kriege, sprechen und die etwa Schmilg dazu nötigen, in der Stelle eine spätere Anfügung zu sehen.<sup>17</sup> Unmöglich aber wird dieser Ansatz durch den Hinweis J. Hamburgers<sup>18</sup> und Zeitlins auf R. hasch. 18b (nicht 19b), eine Stelle, die zeigt, dass schon z. Zt. Jehoschuas und Eliesers die Gültigkeit der Fastenrolle umstritten war und es so unwahrscheinlich macht, dass ein halbes Jahrhundert später neue Tage eingeführt wurden. Im Gegenteil: gerade damals wurden die Trauertage festgesetzt.<sup>19</sup> Sprechen aber die Erläuterungen überhaupt von der hadrianischen Verfolgung?

Das Scholion nennt Jehuda b. Schammua als jüdischen Mittelsmann. Im Anschluss an die parallele Relation in R. hasch. a/b wird er in einer auf das Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts zurückgehenden Tradition als Schüler Meirs bezeichnet. Da er sonst ganz unbekannt ist,<sup>20</sup> bleibt die Ueberlieferung unsicher,<sup>21</sup> zumal sie als Argument in

<sup>14</sup> So auch Bickermann, a. a. O. S. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Bickermann, S. 159.

<sup>16</sup> Diskutabel ist an sich Ewalds These; aber es gibt keine sicheren Indizien, die sie zu stützen vermöchten.

<sup>17</sup> S. 29; so auch Grätz, a. a. O.

<sup>18</sup> *Real-Encyclopaedie d. Jdtsms*, Supplbd. zu I (1886), S. 107. — H's Spezialthese, dass erst auf der Synode von Uscha die endgültige Fixierung der F. erfolgte, wird durch Taan. 18a unmöglich gemacht.

<sup>19</sup> Taan. 4,6 f. Die Einführungsformel zeigt, dass die Sammlung bewusst ausgewählt wurde, wobei die hadrianischen Ereignisse einen erheblichen Teil ausmachen: Nr. 5 (vgl. J. Jeremias, *Aggelos*, I, 153 A. 4), 9 und 10. — Wahrscheinlich ist eine ältere, am 9. Ab geübte Trauersitte (s. schon Philo, *De exsecr.*, 171 und vgl. H. Leisegang, PW 20, I, 29) auf den 17. Tammuz erweitert und durch die Formel unterbaut worden.

<sup>20</sup> Sehr unsichere Vermutungen Bachers (*Ag. d. Tannaiten* II<sup>1</sup>, 227 f.) über seine Verwandtschaft mit El. b. Schammua und die Zusammengehörigkeit unserer Stelle mit einer diesen betreffenden Relation.

<sup>21</sup> Schwierig wäre ausserdem die Chronologie. J. war Lehrer (חבירי here = avancierte Schüler?); er müsste also um 140 über 40 Jahre alt gewesen sein und könnte dann nicht mehr als Schüler Meirs angefangen haben.

einem Streitgespräch Verwendung findet.<sup>22</sup> — Es werden drei Sachangaben gemacht: Torastudium, Sabbatheiligung, Beschneidung waren untersagt worden.<sup>23</sup> Solche dreifache Verfolgung hat tatsächlich in der Hadrianzeit stattgefunden.<sup>24</sup> Aber für den Anfang der Regierung des Antoninus Pius steht nur eine teilweise Aufhebung des Beschneidungsverbotes fest<sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> und die härteste Massnahme — zugleich von symbolhafter Bedeutung — das Verbot, Jerusalem zu betreten, blieb in Kraft. Die Vermittlung einer Matrone aber ist für diese Zeit ganz unbekannt.<sup>27</sup>

Dagegen wissen wir von einer מטרונית אחת שכל גדולי רומי מצויין אצלה<sup>28</sup> aus einer anderen Zeit. Antonia,<sup>29</sup> die Schwägerin des Tiberius — durch ihre Freundin Berenike, die Mutter Agrippas, und den Alabarchen Alexander, ihren Vermögensverwalter, waren ihr jüdische Dinge wohl vertraut<sup>30</sup> — hatte entscheidenden Anteil an der Beseitigung Sejans.<sup>31</sup> Dessen Glanzperiode aber war für die Juden Verfolungszeit. Er muss eine Reihe von judenfeindlichen Massnahmen durchgeführt und noch Aergeres geplant haben. Philo spricht in Leg. § 159 ff. davon. Schon Casp. v. Orelli hatte erkannt, dass der Alexandriner damit nicht die Judenvertreibung d. J. 19 gemeint haben kann<sup>32</sup> und durch E. Stauffer ist das zur Evidenz erhoben

<sup>22</sup> Und zwar das entscheidende in der Diskussion über die fortdauernde Gültigkeit der Fastenrolle.

<sup>23</sup> Das Scholion fügt hinzu: ושיעברו עבודה זרה.

<sup>24</sup> Ad 1: Ber. 61b, Er. 91a; (B. Bathra 60b); ad 2: j. Chagg. II, 77b; ad 3: Dig. 48, 4, 2; Vit. Hadr. 14, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Dig. 48, 8, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Die verschiedenen Ortsangaben, die über den Aufenthalt der wenigen Traditionarier nach deren Rückkehr aus Babylonien gemacht werden, deuten darauf hin, dass die Existenz des Lehrhauses zunächst eine illegale war.

<sup>27</sup> Eine seltsame Vermutung bei Grätz IV<sup>4</sup>, 169.

<sup>28</sup> Eine מטרונית ist rabbinischen Erzählungen auch sonst nicht unbekannt. Jose b. Chalafta hatte 16 Dispute mit einer Matrone (die Stellen bei Bacher II<sup>1</sup>, 165 ff.). Auch Akiba soll Beziehungen zu einer Matrone gehabt haben (Ned. 50a). Weiteres Ned. 49b, Ab. z. 10b, Chul. 105b, Koh. r. 3, 2, 2 und Levy s. v. Nirgends aber begegnet dieselbe Einführungsformel, wie sie völlig gleichlautend an den drei herangezogenen Stellen vorkommt. Vielleicht hat das von uns angenommene Ereignis das Muster für die Entstehung des Topos 'Matrone' abgegeben.

<sup>29</sup> Über sie PW 3, 2717 f.

<sup>30</sup> H. Stuart Jones spricht sogar von einer u. a. aus Kaiserl. und Herodäerprinzen bestehenden 'côterie, of which the centre was Antonia' (JRSI, 1926, S. 22).

<sup>31</sup> Jos., Ant., 18, § 181 ff.; Dio., 66, 14. — Ueber die Glaubwürdigkeit des Josephusberichts s. jetzt die eingehende Untersuchung (mit positivem Ergebnis) von Er. Köstermann, Hermes, 1955, S. 361 f.

<sup>32</sup> 'Aliam, ut videtur, Judaeorum persecutionem Seiani instigationibus tribuit Philo . . .' (zu Tac., Ann., 2, 85 in Opera I [1859], S. 139). Freilich hat er mit dieser

worden.<sup>33</sup> Damit ist der Weg zu einer unabhängigen Interpretation der Philo-Stelle freigelegt. Wir haben zu unterscheiden: eine *κατηγόρησις τῶν ὀκνηκόντων τὴν Ῥώμην Ἰουδαίων*, eine *παρακίνησις τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ἰουδαίων* und schliesslich einen eben ins Werk gesetzten Anschlag gegen die Judenschaft der Provinzen.<sup>34</sup>

Die Aktion ist so bedeutsam gewesen, dass ihr Philo eine ganze Schrift — parallel zu In Flacc. und zur Leg. — widmete.<sup>35</sup> Sie ist verloren gegangen; aber Euseb bringt eine Zusammenfassung, in der die Tendenz des Sejan so bezeichnet wird: *ἄρδην τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπολέσθαι*<sup>36</sup> *σπουδὴν εἰσαγαγοχέναί.*<sup>37</sup> E. Stauffer hat Zeugnisse dafür beigebracht, wie stark sich diese neue, terroristische Politik bereits in Palästina auszuwirken begann.<sup>38</sup>

Was war in Rom geschehen? Seit dem Jahre 19 war die Existenz der in die urbs zurückflutenden Juden eine nicht legale. Sejan hätte sie ohne Befragung des Senats durch einfache 'Verwaltungsmassnahme' wieder entfernen können. Aber die Vertreibung hatte sich als wenig wirkungsvoll erwiesen; fanden doch die Juden auf der Halbinsel<sup>39</sup> Aufnahme, um bei erster Gelegenheit zurückzukehren. Darum ergriff Sejan die strengere Massnahme gegen die Juden Italiens. Inzwischen wurden die römischen Juden unter Druck gesetzt,<sup>40</sup> wozu natürlich vor allem die Einschnürung der religiösen Betätigung gehörte.<sup>41</sup>

Da die Judenmassnahmen nicht in direktem Zusammenhang mit

Beobachtung, soweit ich sehe, keinen Widerhall gefunden. Nur G. Volkmar (*Jbb. f. prot. Theol.* [1885], S. 317) notiert sie, um sie sogleich abzulehnen. — Die Unsicherheit der modernen Kommentatoren zeigt deutlich H. Box, *Philonis Alex. in Flaccum* (Oxf., 1939), S. 68.

<sup>33</sup> *La nouv. Clío*, 1950, S. 507.

<sup>34</sup> *Leg.*, § 161.

<sup>35</sup> Ueber das Gesamtwerk, s. E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, III<sup>4</sup>, 678 f.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. *ἀναπάσαι Leg.* § 160.

<sup>37</sup> H. e. 2, 5, 7. — Vgl. dazu die römische Version über S's Absicht: *genus humanum eruentis in tenebris sepelire conatum* (Valerius Maximus 9, 11, 4).

<sup>38</sup> *La nouv. Clío*, 1950, S. 501 ff., 508; *Christ and the Caesars*, S. 119 f.; vgl. Verf. in *JJSt.*, 1951, S. 108 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Ausweisung nur aus Rom und seinem Umkreis ist mit Suet. und Jos. gegen Tac. anzunehmen; vgl. J. Juster, *Les Juifs . . .*, II, 170.

<sup>40</sup> *κατηγόρεω* = eine inkriminierende Untersuchung führen; vielleicht sollte sie Material für weitere Massnahmen bereitstellen.

<sup>41</sup> Zum damaligen Antisemitismus in Rom, der sich besonders gegen Sabbatfeier und Beschneidung richtete, s. M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (1915), S. 245 ff.; zur römischen Antipathie gegen die Beschneidung viel Material bei Z. Zmigryder-Konopka in *Eos* 33 (1930/31), S. 334 ff. Die gottesdienstliche Betätigung (die man in rabbinischer Terminologie mit 'Torastudium' bezeichnen kann) der röm. Juden hat noch Claudius eingeschränkt (Dio, 60, 6, 6); s. weiter Verf. in *Festschrift Joh. Leipoldt* (1957).

den durch den Sturz Sejans aufgerührten Problemen standen, hätten sie weitergehen können. Tatsächlich aber hat Tiberius an die Provinzialstatthalter (alle oder einige?<sup>42</sup>) einen Erlass gerichtet mit der Aufforderung, die im Gang befindliche Aktion auf einen engen Kreis zu beschränken. Zuvor aber, Philo behauptet, es sei alsbald (εὐθέως) nach dem Tode Sejans geschehen, müssen die Massnahmen gegen die Juden Roms niedergeschlagen worden sein.

Wie kam es dazu? Der Kommentar zu Fastenrolle v. 35 gibt die Antwort. Weil eine Dame von Stand sich in Rom für die Juden verwendete. In der Tat, in der geschilderten Situation konnte niemand einflussreicher sein als Antonia. Sie wird zunächst die Einstellung der Verfolgungsmassnahmen in Rom erreicht haben.<sup>43</sup> Das aber war zur Stunde kein lokales Ereignis sondern ein Zeichen für die Juden des Reiches, dass auch bei ihnen eine Wendung eintreten werde. Diese Friedensstiftung konnte wirklich als *jom tob* gelten. Der 28. Adar dürfte dann der Tag sein, an dem die Nachricht in Jerusalem eintraf.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Leg.*, § 161. Generalisiert Philo? Ist vorzugsweise an alexandrinische und judäische Ereignisse zu denken?

<sup>43</sup> Bei anderen Gelegenheiten verwendeten sich in Rom weilende oder dorthin reisende Mitglieder des Herodäerhauses für die Juden.

<sup>44</sup> Dies Datum passt, besonders wenn man die winterlichen Verkehrsverhältnisse einrechnet, gut zur Chronologie der Ereignisse. Auf die Konsequenzen dieses Ergebnisses für die Vorgeschichte des Prozesses Jesu werde ich anderweitig eingehen.





## HILLELITES AND SHAMMAITES — A CLARIFICATION

ALEXANDER GUTTMANN

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

SINCE the days of Z. Frankel there has been a tendency to classify certain leading Tannaim as Hillelites and Shammaites without realizing the historical fact that these respective schools no longer existed after the destruction of the Second Temple and that therefore such classification is invalid. We shall examine the widely accepted thesis that certain scholars were Shammaites, and demonstrate that it is grounded on erroneous premises.

Modern Jewish scholarship has generally maintained that Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, the great sage of the Tannaitic period, was a Shammaite. The major sources for this premise are the Talmudic passages in which Rabbi Eliezer is designated as שמאי *Shammaiti* or שמותי *Shammuti*.

### A. *Palestinian Talmud*

1. P. Shebi'ith IX.6; 39a: רבי יוחנן אמר בפירות היתר היא מתני' כהרא: רבי תנינן רבי ליעזר אומר יתנו לאוכל. רבי ליעזר דהוא שמותי. דתנינן אוכלין פירות שביעית בטובה ושלא בטובה כדברי בית שמאי. . .

R. Johanan said: Our Mishnah deals with permitted fruits concerning which R. Eliezer says that they should be given to those who are qualified to eat them. And R. Eliezer, a *Shammuti*, agrees with our Mishnah (Shebi'ith IV.2): The School of Shammai says: They may not eat fruits of the Seventh Year if it is by favor of the owner.

The Palestinian Talmud designates R. Eliezer as a *Shammuti*, and understands this word to mean a Shammaite, because his view presupposes the Shammaitic opinion cited from Mishnah, Shebi'ith IV.4.

In spite of that assertion, there is no evidence that R. Eliezer's statement is based upon a Shammaitic view. He does not make explicit reference to it. Moreover, we find that the same Mishnah also contains an opposite version of Beth Shammai's and Beth Hillel's views.<sup>1</sup> This conflicting tradition certainly rules out the use of this passage as

<sup>1</sup> Mishnah 'Eduyot V.1 merely gives one version of this controversy, the one in which Beth Shammai is lenient and which is also the version cited in our passage.

evidence that R. Eliezer accepted the Shammaitic view. In fact, it may very well be that, when giving his position on Mishnah Shebi'ith IX.9, discussed in the above passage from the Palestinian Talmud, R. Eliezer did not have the controversy of Mishnah Shebi'it IV.2 in mind at all.

2. P. Terumoth V.4; 43cd discussing Mishnah V.4 (s. Tosefta VI.4, p. 35): ר' יודן בר פוי ורבי אייבו בר נגרי הוון יתבין אמרין תנינן אחר (R. Yodan bar Poy and R. Ayyibo bar Nagari were sitting together and saying: We read in a Mishnah: "After they had agreed.") מי הודה למי. בית שמאי לבית הלל. או בית הלל לבית שמאי. . . . א"ר יוסי מתניתא אמרה כן אחר שהודו ר' ליעזר אומר תירום ותשרף. ור' ליעזר לאו שמותי הוא.

R. Judan, son of Pazzi and R. Aybo, son of Naggari said, when they were once sitting together: We read, in a Mishnah: "After they had agreed." Who agreed with whom? Did Beth Shammai agree with Beth Hillel, or Beth Hillel with Beth Shammai? . . . R. José said: The Mishnah reads as follows: After they had agreed, R. Eliezer said: It should be taken out and burnt. And is R. Eliezer not a *Shammuti*?

In this passage, the question had been raised as to which school reversed itself and accepted the view of its opponent. Did Beth Hillel accept the view of Beth Shammai, or vice versa? The answer is: Beth Shammai accepted the view of Beth Hillel. The proof: After an accord between Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel was established, R. Eliezer and the sages discuss a detail which implies Beth Shammai's acceptance of Beth Hillel's view. R. José, an Amora, therefore reasons: Since R. Eliezer who is a *Shammuti* presupposes the *lenient* view of Beth Hillel it is Beth Shammai which accepted the Hillelite view.

The reasons of the Gemara are not quite logical. In the first place, the discussion with regard to the respective detail, that took place *after* Beth Shammai accepted Beth Hillel's view, does not indicate what R. Eliezer's position might have been *before* this change of mind. It is quite possible that he would have agreed with Beth Hillel from the outset. Moreover, the discussion involving R. Eliezer took place, no doubt, long after Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel resolved this disagreement and therefore had nothing to do with the dispute of Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel. — The fact, however, remains that *Shammuti* is taken by the Palestinian Talmud to mean Shammaite, though, as we have pointed out, without justification.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> P. Sukkah II.8; 53b represents a slightly different version of the passage just discussed. P. Bezah IV.7; 62d gives another version of the same controversy. It reads מחלפה שיטתיה דר' ליעזר, "R. Eliezer's view is reversed" in place of מחלפה שיטתיה דר' ליעזר, "Beth Shammai's view is reversed." However, the variant reading does not affect the problem as such.

3. P. Bezah I.4; 60c: בית שמאי אומרים לא יטול אלא אם כן נינע מבעוד יום. מחלפה שיתתון רבית שמאי דתנינן תמן ועוד אמר ר' אליעזר עומד הוא אדם על המוקצה ערב שבת בשביעית ואו' מכן אני אוכל למחר. ורבי ליעזר לא שמותי הוא. חומר הוא בדבר שיש בו רוח חיים.

Beth Shammai say: A man may not take pigeons for slaughtering on a festival-day unless he stirred them up the day before. — Beth Shammai's view is erroneously reversed since we found in another passage (Mishnah Beza IV.7): Moreover, R. Eliezer said: A man may stand by the *mukzeh* on the eve of a Sabbath in the Seventh Year and say: From this part will I eat to-morrow. — And is R. Eliezer not a *Shammuti*? — Living things are subject to stringency.

Therefore there is no conflict between the views of R. Eliezer and Beth Shammai.

The Talmud here tries to prove that Beth Shammai's view had been erroneously reversed in transmission because Rabbi Eliezer who is a *Shammuti* holds the opposite, i. e. the *lenient* view. Then follows a typical Talmudic explanation often used when a contradiction is apparent: The two cases referred to by Beth Shammai and R. Eliezer, respectively, are essentially different, and therefore no incongruity exists between them. — Here *Shammuti* is again used as meaning Shammaite, though the Talmud concludes that R. Eliezer and Beth Shammai are discussing different topics.

4. P. Yebamoth XIII.6; 13d: עד דאח מקשי ליה על דרבי ליעזר [צ"ל: דרבנן] קשייתיה על דרבי ליעזר, ליתני יכול למיקשי לה על דרבי אליעזר דרבי ליעזר שמת. ב"ש אומרים אין ממאנין אלא ארוסות

Instead of raising an objection against the sages, the objection ought to be raised against R. Eliezer! — An objection cannot be raised against R. Eliezer, because he is a *Shammati*, and Beth Shammai say: Only they that are betrothed may exercise the right of Refusal (Mishnah Yeb. XIII.1).

The Gemara wonders why objections are directed only against the sages and not also against R. Eliezer. The answer is that objections against R. Eliezer would not be in order because he is a *Shammati*, i. e. a Shammaite. Subsequently a Shammaitic view is cited which is presumed to be R. Eliezer's opinion as well, in order to explain why no objection was raised against R. Eliezer. The premise of the Talmud that R. Eliezer accepts the Shammaitic view cited cannot be considered as evidence.

5. P. Nazir VI, end; 55c,d: מחלפא שיתתיה דר"א תמן הוא אומר לא סתר: אלא שלשים וכא הוא אומר אכן, וכו' אמר רבי חנינא ולא ר"א היא ור' אליעזר שמותי הוא. דתני נזיר ומירט ב"ש אומרים צריך להעביר תער על ראשו

R. Eliezer's view is here reversed. In another passage he says: He makes only a period of thirty days of no effect (Mishnah Nazir III.4), but here he says:

This makes the whole of no effect (Mishnah Nazir VI.11). R. Hinnene said: Is this not R. Eliezer's view? And he is a *Shammuti*, and we have read: If the Nazir is bald, Beth Shammai say: He still would have to shave his head (Tosefta Neziruth I.6, p. 284).

In this passage, a Shammaitic view is quoted in order to show that R. Eliezer is in accord with Beth Shammai in the case under discussion. The analogy is somewhat forced. The parallel in the Babylonian Talmud, *ibid.* 47a, does not include the statement ר' אליעזר שמותי הוא!

What do the passages from the Palestinian Talmud we examined reveal?

1. The Palestinian Talmud takes *Shammuti* to mean Shammaite.
2. Only in two or three of the five instances designating R. Eliezer as a *Shammuti*, does R. Eliezer hold an opinion which may reflect a Shammaitic view in contradistinction to a Hillelite view.

### B. *Babylonian Talmud*

1. Shabbath 130b: לקיש משום ר"ש בן לקיש אמר ר"ש ולא הביאו איזמל מע"ש והביאוהו בשבת והיה הדבר ר' יהודה הנשיא פעם אחת שכחו ולא הביאו איזמל מע"ש והביאוהו בשבת והיה הדבר קשה לחכמים היאך מניחין דברי חכמים ועושין כר"א חדא דר"א שמותי הוא ועוד יחיד ורבים הלכה כרבים.

Once R. Zera found R. Assi, saying as he sat: R. Simon ben Lakish said in the name of R. Judah Ha-Nassi: They once forgot to bring the knife on Sabbath eve, and brought it on the Sabbath. This matter was difficult for the sages: How could they disregard the words of the sages and act in accordance with R. Eliezer? First, since R. Eliezer is a *Shammuti*; and further, when an individual and many disagree, the Halaka is as the many.

In the case involved, R. Eliezer's lenient Halaka was practiced in contradistinction to the rigorous Halaka of the sages. Beth Shammai was known as generally following the strict line, and the Talmud is well aware of this fact.<sup>3</sup> While there are exceptions to this rule, no such exception has been made in our case. Consequently, there is no justification here for calling R. Eliezer a Shammaite. Why, then, should *Shammuti* here mean Shammaite? — Rashi, *ibid.*, s. v. שמותי הוא, gives two explanations. First he suggests ברכוהו "he was cursed," i.e., placed under a ban, referring to the Baba Mezi'a (59b) account about R. Eliezer's banning. Then he relates that the P. Talmud understands *Shammuti* to mean Shammaite.

<sup>3</sup> The leniencies of Beth Shammai as well as the rigorous decisions of Beth Hillel were considered to be exceptions already in Tannaitic times. Cf. particularly Mishnah 'Eduyot IV. and V. — Tosefta *ibid.* II.

2. Niddah 7b: ... יהושע אחה לא שמעת אני שמעתי ... כל ימיו של ר' אליעזר היו עושין כרבי יהושע לאחר פטירתו של ר' אליעזר החזיר ר' יהושע את הדבר ליושנו כר' אליעזר. בחייו מ"ט לא משום דר' אליעזר שמותי הוא וסבר אי עבדינן כוותיה בחדא עבדינן כוותיה באחרנייתא ומשום כבודו דר"א לא מצינו מחינן בהו לאחר פטירתו של ר"א דמצינו מחינן בהו החזיר ר' יהושע את הדבר ליושנו.<sup>4</sup>

It was taught in a Baraitha: R. Eliezer said to R. Joshua: You have not heard but I have heard. . . . Throughout the lifetime of R. Eliezer the people acted in accordance with R. Joshua, but after R. Eliezer's death, R. Joshua restored the matter to its former state in accordance with R. Eliezer. Why not during his lifetime? Because R. Eliezer was a *Shammuti* and R. Joshua thought that, if people would act in accordance with him in one matter, they would act in accordance with him in other matters as well; and that, because of the respect for R. Eliezer, we could not object to their actions. But, after R. Eliezer's death when we could effectively object, R. Joshua restored the original practice.

The second part of the Baraitha is quite illuminating: לאחר פטירתו של ר' אליעזר החזיר רבי יהושע את הדבר ליושנו (והלכה כר' אליעזר).

After the death of R. Eliezer, R. Joshua restored matters to their original status (and the Halaka is according to R. Eliezer.<sup>5</sup>).

This passage reveals the following situation:

At a certain stage, during R. Eliezer's lifetime, his Halaka hitherto accepted, had been renounced. However, after his death, it was reinstated.

The phrase כל ימיו is not precise; it refers merely to the period which began with the rejection of R. Eliezer's Halaka and ended with his death.<sup>6</sup> Such inaccurate wording, exaggerating matters, often occurs in Talmudic literature.<sup>7</sup> It is a form of emphasis.

Thus R. Eliezer's Halaka indicates three phases: 1. A period during R. Eliezer's lifetime, when his Halaka was accepted, 2. A second period, ending with R. Eliezer's death, when his Halaka was rejected in favor of R. Joshua's, 3. And a final period after R. Eliezer's death in which his Halaka was reinstated by his opponent, R. Joshua.

Both Talmudim are puzzled about the reason for the reinstatement of R. Eliezer's Halaka after his death — an unusual measure in Talmudic legislation. Both differ in their attempts at a solution.

<sup>4</sup> Parallel versions, *without Shammuti*, and with some other divergencies appear in Tosefta, *ibid.*, I.5 (p. 641). P. Nidda I.2; 49a.

<sup>5</sup> So reads the Tosefta version.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. I. Halevy, *Doroth Harishonim*, 1e, p. 294. — A. Kaminka, *Jeschurun* II (1924), pp. 10 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Guttman, *Bitzaron*, XIV (1946), p. 97.



The Babylonian Talmud gives the following explanation:

Why was R. Eliezer's Halaka not followed during his lifetime?

Answer: Because R. Eliezer is *Shammuti*, and the sages thought that, if we follow him in one case, we might follow him in other cases too. But, since R. Eliezer is a venerable authority, it would be lese majesty to prohibit the people from following his ruling. However, after his death, such an objection would no longer be a slur. Consequently R. Joshua did not hesitate to restore the original Halaka.

The P. Talmud after rejecting some preliminary thoughts replies: *בחייו לא ראה דעתו, לאחר מיתתו ראה דעתו*. "In R. Eliezer's lifetime, R. Joshua did not see that R. Eliezer was right; but after his death, he did see this." It is clear that this answer is a weak attempt, a conjecture that leaves the question open as to why this sudden light dawned on R. Joshua just at the time of R. Eliezer's death. Was it a mere coincidence, or was it of specific significance? All these difficulties are removed if we keep two events in mind: 1. The ban against R. Eliezer and 2. the lifting of the ban.

At the time of the ban against R. Eliezer everything that he declared clean had been destroyed by burning<sup>8</sup> *אוחו היום הביאו כל* "On that day, everything that R. Eliezer declared to be clean was gathered and burnt in fire." This implies that R. Eliezer's Halakot in this category were rejected and renounced, while R. Joshua, his perennial opponent, prevailed. — This event then completes the two stages which occurred in R. Eliezer's lifetime.

The third stage was initiated when the sages visited R. Eliezer at the approach of his death. At this time, after R. Eliezer was carefully questioned, exclusively in matters of ritual purity and defilement, the ban was lifted. — In another article<sup>9</sup> I have demonstrated that one of the main reasons for the ban against R. Eliezer was his unusual insistence upon a lenient opinion in a matter of ritual purity. The man who pronounced the lifting of the ban was R. Joshua.<sup>10</sup>

However, R. Joshua and the Sages did not limit R. Eliezer's rehabilitation to the lifting of the ban. They drew the consequences of their action by reestablishing at least some of his once recognized Halakot. The above passage from Nidda suggests that this was done to those Halakot which had once been accepted.<sup>11</sup> Otherwise, the word "reestablished" *החזיר* would not have been used.

<sup>8</sup> The assumption, that the burning referred merely to food prepared in the 'Aknai oven, has no basis in the sources. Cf. I. H. Weiss, *Dor Dor Vedorshav*, II, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> *H.U.C.A.* XX (1947), pp. 387 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Sanhedrin 68a; P. Shabbat II.7; 5b.

<sup>11</sup> Therefore there was no reestablishment in the 'Aknai case. We must note that

*Shammuti* in the Niddah passage, if it means "under ban," accurately designates Rabbi Eliezer's actual status, because it refers to him in the period when his Halakot were outlawed.

The connotation "Shammaite" cannot be considered in this instance for two reasons. First, Rabbi Eliezer's view here is a lenient view and nowhere do we find that Beth Shammai was lenient in this case. In addition, the status of being a Shammaite does not change at the time of death. The suggestion of the Babylonian Talmud that, because R. Eliezer was a venerable figure, one could not object to his other Halakot during his lifetime, is quite weak. Veneration for a person does not diminish after his death. Furthermore, Rabbi Eliezer's Halakot are most numerous. Had the B. Talmud considered R. Eliezer a Shammaite, it certainly would not have failed to mention this in a number of instances. Instead, it designates him as a *Shammuti* merely in one or two cases, in which he is on the *lenient* side. Hence there is no doubt that the Babylonian Talmud does not consider Rabbi Eliezer a Shammaite and does not use the epithet *Shammuti* as meaning Shammaite. There is therefore a discrepancy between the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud in these two respects.

We shall now investigate the root of this discrepancy in order to find, if possible, the original meaning of *Shammuti* and to establish whether or not Rabbi Eliezer was a Shammaite.

There can be no doubt that *Shammuti* originally had but one meaning: either "Shammaite" or "the one under a ban." How old is this word? *Shammuti* does not occur in the Tannaitic literature. It may be assumed that it is of Amoraic origin. If the original meaning of *Shammuti* was Shammaite, why is this designation used only in one particular instance, i. e. only for Rabbi Eliezer while, in every other instance in Tannaitic as well as in Amoraic times, the proper designation was מִבֵּית שְׁמַאי, מִבֵּית שְׁמַאי, *Mibeth Shammai* or *Mitalmide Beth Shammai*?<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, if the original meaning of *Shammuti* was "under ban," why did the Palestinian Talmud abandon this connotation and attach an entirely different meaning to this word?

The clue to the answer is the fact that the root שִׁמַּת sh-m-t = "ban" or "banish" does not belong to the known vocabulary of the Palestinian Talmud. This prompts the inference that it was unknown, or most

only Halakot concerning defilement and purity are involved. The ban obviously did not intend to include subjects other than defilement and purity.

<sup>12</sup> Mishnah 'Orlah II.5, 12. — Tosefta Kil'ayim I.4; Sukkah II.3; 'Eduyot II.2; Hagigah II.11, 12; Ohalot V.11. — Talmud Yebamot 15a,b, 16a; Giṭṭin 57a and parallels.

uncommon, in Palestine during the period of the Palestinian Amoraim. The Palestinian Talmud therefore took *Shammuti* or *Shammati* to mean Shammaite while, in Babylonia, the word was correctly used to mean "the one under the ban."

The Talmudim do not offer convincing evidence that Rabbi Eliezer was actually a Shammaite. Modern scholars who consider him a Shammaite do so predominantly under the influence of the passages cited above from the Palestinian Talmud. Yet we saw that Rabbi Eliezer could be understood as possibly expressing a Shammaitic view only in two or three passages of all those which designate him as a *Shammuti*. The first modern scholar to suggest that Rabbi Eliezer was Shammaite was Z. Frankel in *Darke Hamishna*.<sup>13</sup> But even he is surprised to find that, although other Tanaim also occasionally follow a Shammaitic view, they were not designated as *Shammuti*. This question he leaves unanswered.<sup>14</sup> He merely remarks that, in general, Rabbi Eliezer does not follow Beth Shammai.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, once he accepts this view, Frankel adheres to it and endeavors to marshal further evidence to support it. He goes so far as to allege<sup>16</sup> "וּנְרָאָה קֶצֶת שֶׁהִיא כַּעֲיִן אֲבִי" (ראש ישיבה) בבב"ד של שמאי "It appears somewhat that he (Rabbi Eliezer) was a sort of 'Head of Court' or head of the Academy in the Beth Midrash of Shammai, and the words of Mishnah Terumoth V, 4 somewhat indicate this." — Taking a straight look at this Mishnah, we shall realize that Frankel's very hesitant inference has no basis at all. לאחר שהודו "after they agreed" . . . introduces, no doubt, another controversy, representing a later stratum in the Mishnah. Were this an original part of the Beth Shammai-Beth Hillel controversy recorded above, as Frankel presumes, the names of Beth Shammai-Beth Hillel would certainly have been retained in the second clause, as is normally the case.<sup>17</sup>

Assuming that the true meaning of *Shammuti* is "under a ban," the question must be raised: Why does the Babylonian Talmud use this designation so seldom? Why was it not used in regard to other sages as well?

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 75 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> I. Halevy understands *Shammuti* to mean Shammaite. This epithet, he claims, was given to R. Eliezer because of his strong Shammaitic leanings. Cf. *Doroth Harishonim*, 1c, p. 376, על מה שהחזיק במקומות הרבה בשיטת ב"ש. Yet in another passage, — *ibid.*, vol. 1e, p. 296 — Halevy maintains אליעזר הנם בעיקרם אליבא קבלותיו ודבריו של ר' אביעזר הנם בעיקרם אליבא דבית הלל ובשיטתם הם, ולא בשיטת ב"ש, basically, R. Eliezer adheres to Beth Hillel, not to Beth Shammai.

Because Rabbi Eliezer's ban was lifted at the approach of his death and his Halakot, outlawed at the time of his banishment, were reestablished, there was no occasion for referring to the ban except in *historic* passages such as Niddah 7b. Accordingly, there was no reason for designating Rabbi Eliezer as *Shammuti* in Shabbath 130b, since this passage contains no historic reference. Why, then, is the qualification *Shammuti* used here? It is here superfluous, even if *Shammuti* would mean Shammaite.<sup>18</sup> These questions prompt the suggestion that we are dealing here with a later emendation. Apart from the internal evidence, our suggestion finds substantial support in the text of the Munich Code, which does not contain the *Shammuti* clause in our passage! The Munich Code moreover clearly shows that this cannot possibly be a copyist's error.<sup>19</sup>

As to the second question: Why the epithet *Shammuti* was not used for other sages too, the answer is obvious. None of the sages was in a position comparable to that of Rabbi Eliezer. Akabiah ben Mahallalel and Eleazar ben Hanok, two other sages known to have been placed under a ban, are mentioned rarely, and have practically no place in Talmudic discussions. The Talmud simply had no opportunity to use the designation *Shammuti* when referring to them.

Another passage that may have some bearing on our problem is Rabbi Eleazar's remark in Shabbath 153b; Tosefta *ibid.*, I, 17 (p. 111) regarding the eighteen cases in which Beth Shammai prevailed over Beth Hillel. תניא ר"א אומר בו ביום גדשו סאה ר' יהושע אומר בו ביום מחקו סאה, "It was taught in a baraita: Rabbi Eliezer said: On that day they overfilled the measure; Rabbi Joshua said: On that day they made the measure deficient." Rabbi Eliezer's statement is generally understood as a confession of his adherence to Beth Shammai. Granted that this obscure remark actually means that Rabbi Eliezer approved of the Shammaitic position in the particular instance under discussion, does this prove that he was a Shammaite?

Let us look at the circumstances that may have influenced Rabbi Eliezer in this decision to side with Beth Shammai in this case. The "Eighteen Matters" directed against the Gentiles had been discussed amidst the events that culminated in the Jewish War.<sup>20</sup> The decision

<sup>18</sup> The objection תיבין הלכה כרבים, i. e., pointing to the fact that in the case under discussion the majority principle was ignored, is in itself a sufficiently strong argument.

<sup>19</sup> Codex M does not omit merely the word שמותי but also the words ועור חדא, i. e., its text admits but one reason. Another hand added שמותי הוא above the line in order to harmonize M with other versions.

<sup>20</sup> S. Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, Note 26. — The exact year, according to S. Zeitlin,

in favor of Beth Shammai's rigorous position was certainly not an accidental majority decision. It was prompted undoubtedly by the great tension between Jews and Gentiles, i. e. the Romans, at that time. The majority vote in the "Eighteen Matters" in favor of Beth Shammai can be best explained if we assume that a number of Hillelites voted with Beth Shammai whose anti-Gentile position was naturally more popular at the time. This, however, does not mean that these Hillelites became Shammaites. Later controversies, decisions, and particularly the final struggle for exclusiveness<sup>21</sup> show this clearly. In contrast to Rabbi Joshua, his perennial opponent, Rabbi Eliezer, like Beth Shammai and also a number of Hillelites, assumes an anti-Gentile attitude,<sup>22</sup> even opposing proselytism.<sup>23</sup> This, however, does not mean that Rabbi Eliezer was a Shammaite. It is not at all certain that his anti-Gentile attitude was the result of Shammaitic influence. It is possible that the leading sages of that time, in their effort to preserve Judaism, sought to take measures against the source of the menace, but did not agree as to the identity of that source. Some of the sages as, for example, Rabbi Joshua, believed that rising Christianity was the real menace to Judaism,<sup>24</sup> so they suggested steps to ward off Christian influence. Their attitude toward non-Christian Gentiles was therefore friendly, at least not hostile. Others, however, among them Rabbi Eliezer, thought the heathen Gentiles, particularly the Romans, were endangering Judaism. Therefore they displayed antagonism against this group but maintained friendly relations with the Christians, particularly Judeo-Christians.<sup>25</sup>

Once the journey on the wrong track commenced, it was continued. Thus Z. Frankel and other scholars, believing that the original meaning of *Shammuti* is "Shammaite," claim that the ban against Rabbi Eliezer in connection with the Aknai incident<sup>26</sup> was punishment for his adherence to the Shammaite position. In a previous article I pointed to the circumstances and reasons for this ban.<sup>27</sup>

Having demonstrated origins and implications of the erroneous

was 65 C.E. See *R.E.J.*, 1934, "L'Origine de L'Institution du Baptême pour les Prosélytes"; and in *Horeb*, 1938, טומאת נכרים בימין הבית, 68.

<sup>21</sup> 'Erubin 13b.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. M. Guttman, *Das Judentum und seine Umwelt*, pp. 168 f.

<sup>23</sup> M. Guttman, *ibid.*, pp. 75, 83.

<sup>24</sup> S. Gudemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, particularly Ch. IV. "R. Josua ben Chanania und das Christentum," pp. 135 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. particularly Tosefta *Hullin* II.24 (p. 503). — 'Abodah Zarah 16b.

<sup>26</sup> Frankel, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Bassfreund, *MGWJ*, 42, pp. 49 ff.; Weiss, *Dor Dor Vedorshav*, II, p. 86.

<sup>27</sup> *H.U.C. Annual*, XX, pp. 374 ff.



view that *Shammuti* means "Shammaite," the following remarks are in order:

Designating a person as a Hillelite or a Shammaite, presupposes the existence of the schools of Hillel and Shammai. These schools, however, terminated their existence shortly after the destruction of the Temple, as we have showed elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> Beth Shammai, having been outlawed, vanished from the history of Judaism. Subsequently, the designation Beth Hillel became meaningless, since there existed but one legitimate Rabbinic Judaism, which did not consider itself a "school" as opposed to another "school." The designation Beth Hillel was dropped. It would be unhistorical to designate the Rabbis of later generations as Hillelites or Shammaites. Needless to say, the termination of Beth Shammai did not mean the extermination of its members. However, if they did not join the main stream of Judaism, which was heir to the Hillelite tradition, they had no further rôle in molding Judaism. We have but one incident, Hag. 22b, where a Shammaite, speaks up at a time when Beth Shammai existed no longer and is explicitly identified as a Shammaite, "a disciple from among the disciples of Beth Shammai."<sup>29</sup>

The sages, heirs to the Hillelite school, occasionally, and under exceptional circumstances, accepted some Shammaitic views. This, however, does not permit us to classify them as Shammaites. There are two reasons: 1. We cannot assign a man to a non-existing school, except in a figurative sense. 2. We cannot base a classification upon exceptional instances. These reasons had been disregarded not merely in the case of R. Eliezer, but in other instances as, e. g. in the case of Rabban Gamliel II.

Yebamot 15a relates that once Rabban Gamliel followed a Shammaitic practice. Subsequently, the Talmud emphatically rejects the possible inference that Rabban Gamliel was a Shammaite.<sup>30</sup> The attempt of the Talmud, to show that Rabban Gamliel did not follow the Shammaitic practice at all, is forced. Although he actually followed the Shammaitic Halaka in this, and in a few other instances,<sup>31</sup> he was not a Shammaite, for the reasons suggested above. In this connection we have to keep in mind that a number of other non-Shammaitic sages, too, occasionally accepted Shammaitic views, e. g.

<sup>28</sup> *H.U.C.A.*, *ibid.*, pp. 370 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *H.U.C.A.*, *ibid.*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>30</sup> ותסברה רבן גמליאל מתלמידי ב"ש הוא.

<sup>31</sup> Examples: Mishnah Bezaḥ II.6 = 'Eduyot III.10, referring to three instances where R. Gamliel accepts Beth Shammai's strict rulings. See also Berakoth 43b and 53a.



R. Jose,<sup>32</sup> R. Simon,<sup>33</sup> R. Judah,<sup>34</sup> R. Meir,<sup>35</sup> R. Tarfon.<sup>36</sup> A Mishnah<sup>37</sup> states that, in a specific case, "the more scrupulous of the School of Hillel used to observe the words of the School of Shammai" yet nobody, thus far, doubted that they remained Hillelites.

One of the most decisive and crucial phases of Jewish History was the period following the destruction of the Temple. Yet the erudition devoted to this period is not at all commensurate with its importance. Striking illustrations of this are the numerous contradictory views and findings brought forth by scholars discussing the period. Z. Frankel, H. Graetz, I. H. Weiss, I. Halevy, who did most of the original research on this period, too often arrive at irreconcilable conclusions. In this investigation we demonstrated that even in instances where complete, or almost complete, unanimity exists among the scholars of our day, there are matters that need re-study.

<sup>32</sup> See Tosefta Kelim, Baba Bathra I.12 (p. 591).

<sup>33</sup> See Tosefta 'Eduyot II.9 (p. 458).

<sup>34</sup> See Tosefta Terumot III.12 (p. 29); Tosefta Mikwa'ot V.3 (p. 657).

<sup>35</sup> S. Tosefta Niddah, IX.9 (p. 651). — See also R. Akiba, Tosefta Shebi'it IV.21 (p. 67); cf. the Baraita in Rosh Ha-Shanah 14ab.

<sup>36</sup> Mishnah Berakot I.3.

<sup>37</sup> Demai VI.6.

## THE CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE OF MELCHIZEDEK

JAKOB J. PETUCHOWSKI

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

A PASSAGE in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Nedarim* 32b, reads as follows:

Said Rabbi Zechariah in the name of Rabbi Ishmael: God wanted to derive the priestly line from Shem, as it is said (Gen. 14.18), "He was priest of God Most High." But God derived (the priestly line) from Abraham, when Shem placed the blessing of Abraham before the praise of God, as it is said (Gen. 14.19), "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, maker of heaven and earth; and blessed be God Most High . . ."

Said Abraham to him: "Does one place the blessing of a servant before that of his master?"

Immediately (the priesthood) was given to Abraham; as it is said (Ps. 110.1), "The Lord says to my lord: 'Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool.'" And after this it is written (verse 4): "The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind, 'Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.'" (על דברתי מלכי צדק). This means: on account of what Melchizedek had said (על דיבורו של מלכי צדק). And that is why it is written (Gen. 14.18): "He was priest of God Most High." *He* was priest; but his descendants were not priests.<sup>1</sup>

Rabbi Ishmael, the author of this somewhat uncomplimentary reference to Melchizedek,<sup>2</sup> lived in the early part of the second century, and he is known to us from other sources<sup>3</sup> as a rather uncompromising opponent of Christianity. Considering that the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, "the book which mentions Melchizedek" (Enslin), was written in the early part of the second century,<sup>4</sup> it becomes tempting to see in Ishmael's statement a polemic against the rôle played by Melchizedek in *Hebrews*. There it is argued that Abraham was inferior to Melchizedek,

אמר רבי זכריה משום ר' ישמעאל ביקש הקב"ה להוציא כהונה מעם שנ' והוא כהן לאל עליון<sup>1</sup> כיון שהקדים ברכת אברהם לברכת המקום הוציאה מאברהם שנ' ויברכהו ויאמר ברוך אברהם לאל עליון קונה שמים וארץ וברוך אל עליון אמר לו אברהם וכי מקדימין ברכת עבד לברכת קונו מיד נתנה לאברהם שנ' נאם ה' לאדני שב לימיני עד אשית איביך הדום לרגליך ובתריה כתיב נשבע ה' ולא ינחם אחה כהן לעולם על דברתי מלכי צדק על דיבורו של מלכי צדק והיינו דכתיב והוא כהן לאל עליון. הוא כהן ואין זרעו כהן:

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the parallels in *Leviticus rabbah* 25:6, and in *Midrash Aggadah* (ed. Buber) to Genesis 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Tosephta Shabbath* 13:5; *Tosephta Hullin* 2:22-23; b. *Aboda Zarah* 27b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Morton Scott Enslin, *Christian Beginnings*, p. 313; and Samuel Sandmel, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament*, p. 233.

because it is always the superior who blesses the inferior. But Levi, the ancestor of the Jewish priesthood, was already, as it were, in Abraham's loins. Consequently it follows that Melchizedek's priesthood was superior to that of the Levites. Unable to attain perfection, the levitical priesthood was replaced by the priesthood of Jesus, who, being of the tribe of Judah, was "after the order of Melchizedek" in that he was not a levitical priest.

That we should see in Rabbi Ishmael's statement a polemic against *Hebrews* has indeed already been suggested; — tentatively by Louis Ginzberg,<sup>5</sup> and as a certainty by R. Travers Herford.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Hans Windisch<sup>7</sup> emphatically denies any connection between the statement of R. Ishmael and the theology of *Hebrews*, as does V. Aptowitzer,<sup>8</sup> who points out that nothing in the statement of R. Ishmael in any way affects the characterization of Melchizedek in *Hebrews*. Marcel Simon<sup>9</sup> stresses the polemic element in *all* rabbinic utterances on the subject of Melchizedek; though, like Ginzberg,<sup>10</sup> he would include the writings of the Church Fathers among the Christian pronouncements which drew forth this Jewish polemic. Such passages as, for example, paragraphs 19 and 33 in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, where the figure of Melchizedek is invoked to prove that Abraham paid homage to the uncircumcised Melchizedek — thereby demonstrating the superiority of the "priest of those who are in uncircumcision" over the levitical priesthood — must have led, according to Simon, to a Jewish effort to diminish the importance of Melchizedek in favor of that of Abraham.

In the light of this polemical *Tendenz*, Simon also endeavors to show that the identification of Melchizedek with Shem (which is presupposed, for example, in the b. *Nedarim* 32b passage we discussed above) was due to the embarrassment felt by Jews in view of Abraham's paying homage to Melchizedek.<sup>11</sup> But if Melchizedek is identified with Shem, then Abraham was merely showing deference to an ancestor, — which is quite in line with accepted Jewish *mores*. There can be, says Simon,<sup>12</sup> no other justification for this identification.

<sup>5</sup> *Legends of the Jews*, Volume V, p. 226, Note 104.

<sup>6</sup> *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, London 1903, p. 265, and pp. 338 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Der Hebräerbrief*, Tübingen 1931, p. 61: "Hier (im Talmud) wird also die Melchizedeksgeschichte zur Verherrlichung des israelitischen Priestertums ausgelegt, natürlich ohne Kenntnis des Hebr. und nicht aus Opposition gegen Hebr."

<sup>8</sup> "Malkizedek," in *MGWJ*, Vol. LXX (1926), pp. 93-113.

<sup>9</sup> "Melchisédech dans la polemique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende," in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, 1947, pp. 58-93.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

3rd ed. - 16  
has some minor  
as 2nd ed.  
Fluorid

It is at this point that we become cautious about an unreserved acceptance of the "anti-Christian" interpretation of the Melchizedek passages. For can there really be no other justification for identifying Melchizedek with Shem? In the first place, we note that Rabbi Ishmael, who is chronologically our first source, is already taking this identification for granted. He makes no attempt at "proving" it, as do none of the other numerous rabbinic passages in which this identification is likewise taken for granted, and in which Scriptural verses referring to Melchizedek are, in the most matter-of-fact way, applied to Shem.<sup>13</sup>

We venture to suggest that we are merely dealing with a *midrashic* conceit which, in the absence of any clear-cut chronology, identifies any number of biblical personages with one another, — especially so in cases where we have no official "obituary" in the Bible to tell us about their demise. Thus, for example, Shem and Eber were still around at the time of Rebekah, and it is to their *beth hamidrash* that, according to *Genesis rabbah* 63:7, the matriarch went "to inquire of the Lord." Again, without any further ado, the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Exodus 6.25 identifies Putiel with Jethro; while, to take a more analogous case, this same *Targum* to Numbers 25.12 identifies Phineas with the Prophet Elijah. This latter identification, we may note in passing, was so much taken for granted that the *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah*<sup>14</sup> can seriously raise the question why the gift of prophecy was given to the woman Deborah, seeing that Phineas, an *a priori* more likely candidate for this function, must have been a contemporary.

Now, considering that, according to Genesis 11.10–11, Shem lived altogether 600 years, and that Melchizedek is introduced without any genealogy of his own (an important point, by the way, for Philo and the author of *Hebrews*), we need see nothing more than innocent *midrashic* play in the identification of Melchizedek with Shem, — an identification, let it be noted, which was already taken for granted in the days of Rabbi Ishmael.

What, then, are we to say about the supposedly anti-Christian polemics in Rabbi Ishmael's reference to the priesthood of Melchizedek? For, whatever may be our verdict on the reasons for the Melchizedek-Shem identification, there can be no doubt that R. Ishmael's reference to Melchizedek is polemical. Melchizedek, we are left to infer, is just not the kind of exalted person we might think he was

<sup>13</sup> E. g. b. *Sanhedrin* 108b; *Numbers rabbah* 4:6; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Genesis 14.18; *Pirké Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 27; *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* Version A, ch. 2 (ed. Schechter, p. 12).

<sup>14</sup> Beginning of chapter 10, ed. Friedmann, p. 48.

at a first reading of Genesis 14 and Psalm 110. There seems to be a definite attempt here at "demoting" him. But if Rabbi Ishmael was voicing his antagonism to someone or something claiming authority by virtue of a relationship of some kind to Melchizedek, what alternative is there to *Hebrews* and other Christian interpretations of Melchizedek?

Kaufmann Kohler<sup>15</sup> makes a vague reference to "the Jewish propagandists of Alexandria, who were eager to win proselytes for Judaism without submitting them to the rite of circumcision," and to whom, therefore, "Melchizedek appealed with especial force as a type of the monotheist of the pre-Abrahamic time or of non-Jewish race, like Enoch." The "rabbis of later generations" are said by Kohler to have been "rather antagonistic to the cosmopolitan monotheism of Alexandria." In the absence of any reference to sources, we can only assume that Kohler deduced, from later Christian sources, what the arguments of those Jewish propagandists of Alexandria must have been who were eager to win proselytes without circumcision. At any rate, what emerges from Kohler's treatment as well is that it was the "rabbis of later generations" who treated the figure of Melchizedek in an apologetic or polemic way.

In the following paragraphs we should like to suggest that there may yet be another alternative as to the butt of R. Ishmael's polemic. To find this alternative, we shall have to take a closer look at Melchizedek himself;—not so much at the Melchizedek who makes his sudden and unheralded entry as "King of Salem" in Genesis 14, but at the Melchizedek of Psalm 110, after whose order a militant king is told that he would be "a priest forever." What do we know about this Psalm?

For one thing, we note that the acrosticon שמש is formed by the first letters of each of the four verses in the oracle, beginning with the word שש. This fact has been taken to support that theory about Psalm 110, which sees in it a Maccabean psalm, written to "legitimize" the new Hasmonean dynasty of priest-kings in 142 B. C. E.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *J. E.*, Vol. VIII, p. 450, s. v. "Melchizedek."

<sup>16</sup> Although this theory has been falling out of favor of late, it is still maintained by Julius A. Bewer in *The Literature of the Old Testament*, revised edition, N. Y. 1933, p. 369, and by Robert H. Pfeiffer in *Introduction to the Old Testament*, revised edition, N. Y., 1948, p. 161, as well as in his *History of New Testament Times*, N. Y., 1949, p. 19n. H. H. Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok" in *Festschrift Alfred Pertholet* (Tübingen 1950; pp. 461–472), is emphatic in denying the Maccabean authorship of Psalm 110, "because it is hard to see why the psalmist should want to allude to Gen. 14 or to connect Simeon with a non-Israelite priesthood. For though the Pentateuch in his day must have contained Gen. 14, it did not offer the slightest

When we read in *I Maccabees* 14.35, 41, "And when the people saw the faith of Simon, and the glory which he sought to bring unto his nation, they made him their leader and high priest . . . . And the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and highpriest *forever, until a faithful prophet should arise*," we not only get the impression that a new dynasty has here been legitimized, but also that this legitimization by popular support was only, as it were, *pro tem*, and in need of further substantiation by a divine oracle. Psalm 110 could well be taken to supply such an oracle.

If Gunkel<sup>17</sup> rules out this interpretation, because, on linguistic grounds, "late poems" should fall far below the magnificent *Schwung* of Psalm 110, we might have to revise this judgment in the light of the "late poems" which have recently come to light in the caves of Qumran. And if he feels that Psalm 110.4 promises the priesthood to a king, and not kingship to a priest, as would have been required under the circumstances, we have to remind ourselves that the legitimacy of the Hasmonean High Priesthood (as distinct from their kingship) was by no means taken for granted either. As W. O. E. Oesterley points out,<sup>18</sup> "strictly speaking, and in a legal-religious sense, even Jonathan's assumption of the High-priesthood was a usurpation. And this applied, of course, to Simon when he succeeded to the dignity. It was, therefore, necessary that there should be a formal recognition, and legitimization, of the Hasmonean family as that in which the hereditary High-priesthood was vested. This was done, then, in the third year of Simon's leadership."<sup>19</sup>

suggestion that the Priesthood of Melchizedek was of superior authority to the Aaronic priesthood . . ." Rowley seems to overlook the fact that this is precisely the suggestion which the Pentateuch did offer to the author of *Hebrews*. Nevertheless, Rowley presents a good case for regarding Psalm 110 as literally Davidic, and composed for a single occasion, "and that was when David was recognized as master of Jerusalem." David, having treated the Jebusites with clemency, and having recognized the Jebusite Zadok's priesthood, is addressed in the opening verses of this psalm by Zadok, who acknowledges that David's God has enabled him to conquer the city, while David, in his turn, confirms Zadok in his Jerusalem priesthood. If Rowley is right, his interpretation of the *origin* of Psalm 110 would in no way affect our own conclusions which, as will be shown, would hold equally well if it is assumed that the Hasmonean priest-kings merely *utilized* an old psalm for their own purposes.

<sup>17</sup> *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, Göttingen 1933, p. 169.

<sup>18</sup> *A History of Israel*, Vol. II, Oxford 1932, p. 265.

<sup>19</sup> Elias Bickermann, *Die Makkabäer* (Berlin, Schocken, 1935), pp. 34 f., also points out how the "pious" forsook Judah Maccabee after the peace of 162, and that they were quite willing to see in Alkimos the legitimate High Priest. "Gerade die 'Chasidim,' die 'Frommen,' ein durch seine Strenzgläubigkeit bekannter Kreis, der sich seinerzeit als erster Mattatia angeschlossen hatte, erkannte jetzt als erster



Yet, even if we were to agree with Gunkel and others in regarding Psalm 110 as decidedly pre-Maccabean, we still cannot overlook the fact that the Hasmoneans showed a remarkable predilection for the terminology of this psalm. A few examples will illustrate this: —

The Talmud,<sup>20</sup> quoting from a scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith*, refers to the erstwhile practice of dating documents "in the year such-and-such of Johanan, High Priest of God Most High." Even if we explain the observance of the 3rd of Tishri, to which the above-mentioned scholion refers, in a way different from that of the scholiast,<sup>21</sup> we must still admit, on the basis of that scholion, that later tradition remembered the title by which the Hasmonean priest-kings wanted to be known.<sup>22</sup>

Again, *I Maccabees* 14.41 speaks of Simon's appointment as "high-priest forever." Likewise, in the *Assumption of Moses* 6.1, we read:

"Then there shall be raised up unto them kings, bearing rule, and they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God. They shall assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies."

R. H. Charles, in his comments on this verse,<sup>23</sup> has shown that this implies a condemnation of the "Maccabean prince-priests."

Similarly, in Jubilees 32.1, Levi dreamed at Bethel "that they had ordained and made him a priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever"; while, in the *Testament of Levi* 8.3, the patriarch hears the words: "From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed forever."

Now, both the title "priest of God Most High," and the promise of "forever," recall the words of Psalm 110.4: "You are a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek," of that Melchizedek, that is to say, who, in Genesis 14.18, is described as "priest of God Most High." Moreover, the words "after the order of Melchizedek" suggest the establishment of a *new* order of priesthood (as the author of *Hebrews* spares no pains in pointing out); and such the Hasmonean dynasty not only was in fact, but as such it was indeed regarded. Witness *Testament of Levi* 8.14:

Alkimos an." And, speaking of Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 152, Bickermann comments (*op. cit.*, p. 42): "Acht Jahre später erhob sich Jonatan zum Hohepriester, obwohl er gar nicht zum Geschlecht der Zaddokiden gehörte, denen das Amt zustand . . . während der dem Blut nach legitime Hohepriester in einem in Ägypten errichteten Aftertempel den Dienst verrichtete."

<sup>20</sup> b. *Rosh Hashanah* 18b: וכך היו כותבים בשנת כך וכך ליוחנן כהן גדול לאל עליון.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hans Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle. Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte," in *HUCA*, Vol. VIII-IX (1932), pp. 282 ff.

<sup>22</sup> See also Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. XVI, vi, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. II, p. 418.

"And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles."

And, even more specifically, *Testament of Levi* 18.1-2:

"And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.

Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.

And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;

And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days."

In short, even those who agree with Gunkel in regarding Psalm 110 as pre-Maccabean, cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that the psalm could not have been more appropriate to serve the needs of the Hasmonean dynasty of priest-kings if it had been written to order. Whether, therefore, Psalm 110 had been specifically written for them or not, the Hasmoneans certainly made use of it.

The following question may, of course, arise: Did the Hasmoneans deliberately choose the title "Priest of God Most High," with the description of Melchizedek as their conscious example; or was it just a "natural" way of expressing themselves? R. H. Charles<sup>24</sup> has gone to the trouble of counting the number of occurrences of 'elyon and its corresponding ὕψιστος in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. He found that the term occurs forty-eight times in Sirach and thirteen times in Daniel. "On the other hand it appears only once in the Prophets, six times in the Pentateuch (and of these four times in Genesis 14, in connection with Melchizedek); in the Psalms twenty-one times." From the close of the second century B. C. E., again, till after the Christian era, it is rare. Which leads Charles to the conclusion that this title of God was most used in the second century B. C. E.

Bickermann<sup>25</sup> has tried to account for the frequent use of this title of God at that particular time. He claims that it originated with Jews speaking or writing Greek in Palestine in the 3rd century B. C. E., who felt that the name *Kyrios* was not intelligible to the Greeks, and that the term *Theos* had a rather general meaning. They chose *Hypsistos*, in spite of the fact that the corresponding Hebrew term, 'elyon, is very rare in the Bible. The Greek term then "reacted upon the Hebrew style." Nevertheless, when Bickermann writes<sup>26</sup> that "the same title was chosen by the Maccabean priest-kings to designate the God of

<sup>24</sup> *The Book of Jubilees*, London, 1902, p. 213.

<sup>25</sup> "The Historical Foundations of Postbiblical Judaism," in Finkelstein, *The Jews, their History, Culture, and Religion*, Philadelphia 1949, Vol. I, p. 97.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Zion in their official Hebrew utterances," he seems to indicate that this was a conscious choice on their part.

It must be remembered, moreover, that the title of "priest of God Most High" is not the only reason which leads us to connect Psalm 110 with the Hasmoneans. It is this title *together* with the promise of "forever" which so strongly suggests such a connection, covering as this combination does both references to Melchizedek in the Hebrew Bible.

When we describe the Hasmoneans as making use of Psalm 110, we mean to imply thereby that they used it as a "legitimization." Reference has already been made to the fact that, from the point of view of the *hasidim*, the assumption of the High-priesthood by the Hasmoneans was nothing less than a usurpation. Such a legitimization, and formal recognition, as we have already noted, did, in fact, take place in the third year of Simon's leadership, and it is recorded in *I Maccabees* 14.25-49.

Nevertheless, Oesterley points out,<sup>27</sup> "as the subsequent history shows, it is certain that a great undercurrent of feeling against the Hasmonean High-priesthood among a very considerable section of the anti-Hellenistic Jews was already running at this time."

The later relationship between this dynasty and the Pharisees is well enough known to us from Josephus, on the one hand,<sup>28</sup> and from the deadly silence on the subject of Maccabean glories in rabbinic literature, on the other.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. particularly *Antiquities*, Book XIII.

<sup>29</sup> W. R. Farmer (*Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus*, N. Y. 1956) has recently tried to prove that the Maccabean glories were not only remembered as late as the first century C. E., but that they were the inspiration for the Jewish rebellion against Rome. Farmer's proof is based primarily on the fact that Josephus does *not* mention any connection between the Maccabees and the Zealots (sic). But Farmer also adduces the *Megillath Ta'anith* as evidence for his thesis. This scroll does indeed contain fourteen memorable days which apparently were instituted during the reign of the Hasmoneans. Cf. Hans Lichtenstein's study in *HUCA* Vol. VIII-IX, referred to above. A closer analysis of these memorable days leads, however, to the following results: Five of them had a purely cultic or religious significance, viz. Nisan 8 (Lichtenstein, pp. 276 ff.); Heshvan 23 (Lichtenstein, pp. 273 f.); Kislev 21 (Lichtenstein, p. 288); Kislev 25 (Lichtenstein, pp. 275 f.); Adar 28 (Lichtenstein, p. 279). Two of the days may, or may not, have had political significance; viz.: Iyyar 27, אֲחֻנְסִילוֹ כְּלִילָאֵי מִן יְרוּשָׁלַם, where Lichtenstein (p. 286) identifies כְּלִילָאֵי with στέφανοι of *I Macc.* 10.29, and also refers us to the taking away of "the yoke of the heathen" in *I Macc.* 13.41. The scholion, however, which identifies כְּלִילָאֵי with the wreaths used in pagan cults could equally be correct, in which case Iyyar 27 would have a religious, rather than a political, significance. The other day is Tishri 3, בְּטִילָה מִן שְׁרָיָא which Lichtenstein (pp. 282 ff.) interprets as meaning the abolition

But, if Psalm 110 was used to "legitimize" the Hasmonean dynasty *vis-à-vis* their opponents — and that they had opponents can hardly be denied — it follows that those opponents must either have been convinced by this attempt at "legitimization," or, failing that, the opponents must have had their own answer to it — their own views as to what may, and what may not, be proved by a reference to Melchizedek. Perhaps it speaks against a Maccabean authorship of Psalm 110 that this psalm found its way into the canon. After all, it was precisely that group of Pharisaic-rabbinic scholars, which had broken with the Hasmonean dynasty, which, in the last analysis, was responsible for the inclusion of books into the canon of the Scriptures. If, however, Psalm 110 antedates the Maccabean period, the Hasmoneans merely utilizing it for their own purposes, there would have been no more reason for excluding it than there was for omitting other parts of the Bible which Sadducees and others used as a basis for their opposition to Pharisaic interpretations. But just as the Pharisees handed on their own (as opposed to the Sadducean) interpretations of such passages as, say, Leviticus 16.12-13 and Leviticus 23.15, so, we

of the custom of dating documents according to the era of the contemporary Greek ruler. It is, however, significant that the scholion speaks of the abolition of the phrase "in the year such-and-such of Johanan, High Priest of God Most High" by way of dating documents. This might even indicate an *anti-Hasmonean* basis for the observance of this day! This leaves us with seven days which, apparently, were meant to commemorate military achievements. One of them, nevertheless, merits special consideration. It is Heshvan 25, commemorating the conquest of Samaria (Lichtenstein, pp. 289 f.). The antipathy towards the Samaritans had decidedly religious foundations. The institution of Kislev 21 as a joyful commemoration of the destruction of the Samaritan temple was undoubtedly religiously motivated. Heshvan 25 might, therefore, be regarded in a similar light. The remaining six days are as follows: — Iyyar 7, Dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Lichtenstein, p. 280); Iyyar 23, Departure of the occupying forces from the Acra (Lichtenstein, pp. 286 f.); Sivan 14, Conquest of Migdal Sur (Lichtenstein, pp. 282 ff.); Sivan 15 and 16, Conquest of Scythopolis and the Valley of Jezreel (Lichtenstein, pp. 288 f.); Shevat 28, End of the siege by Antiochus VII Sidetes (Lichtenstein, pp. 287 f.); and Adar 13, Nicanor Day (Lichtenstein, pp. 279 f.). There is, of course, nothing remarkable in the fact that, within a period of two hundred years, a people should remember six occasions of military and political significance, some of which were turning-points in the fate of the nation. The rather cryptic text of *Megillath Ta'anith*, however, offers us no evidence that the heroism and the policies of the Hasmoneans were fondly remembered alongside of these dates. The six occasions in *Megillath Ta'anith* which alone could be adduced as evidence in favor of Farmer's thesis are more than overshadowed by Josephus' description of the break which occurred between Hasmoneans and Pharisees, by the condemnation of this dynasty of the kind we have seen in the *Assumption of Moses*, and by the very vague historical references which the Talmud makes in speaking about the origin of Hanukkah.

may be sure, did they hand on their interpretations of other biblical passages to which sectarians gave a different meaning.

If, then, we find Rabbi Ishmael, in the second century C. E., making a statement the import of which is to make impossible the claim that the established levitical line can be superseded by another "after the order of Melchizedek," the Rabbi may well have given expression to the opposition voiced against the Hasmonean use of Psalm 110 by the early Hasidim, and transmitted by the Pharisees. Naturally, by the time we get to Rabbi Ishmael, Psalm 110 had again been used as a psalm of "legitimization." This time by the nascent Christian Church, as is proved by the different uses of this Psalm in *Mark* 12:35-37;<sup>30</sup> *Acts* 2:34-36; and, of course, in *Hebrews* — though the latter seems to be more directly related to Philo's comments on Genesis 14.<sup>31</sup> Under the circumstances, it is not unlikely that Rabbi Ishmael may have been aware of the Christian use of Melchizedek. But we would venture to suggest that the Pharisaic-rabbinic attempts to put the old priest-king of Salem in his place considerably ante-date the second century polemics against Christianity.

These latter are more evident in the endeavor of the later rabbis to substitute Abraham for David as the person addressed in this Psalm,<sup>32</sup> or, if we can rely on Justin Martyr,<sup>33</sup> to refer this Psalm to King Hezekiah. At the same time, it is noteworthy that in some rabbinic circles a messianic rôle was ascribed to Melchizedek himself.<sup>34</sup> But that is beyond the scope of our present inquiry.

<sup>30</sup> Parallels in *Matthew* 22:44-46; *Luke* 20:41-44.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the detailed references to Philo in Hans Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 f.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Midrash Tehillim* 110, and *Yalkut Shime'oni*, Part II, ch. 869. See also Rashi *ad* Psalm 110.

<sup>33</sup> *Dialogue with Trypho*, par. 33. This interpretation of the Psalm is not otherwise attested in rabbinic literature. It is possible, however, that Justin Martyr was familiar with the view, voiced in b. *Sanhedrin* 99a by Hillel II, that the messianic prophecies were fulfilled in Hezekiah. Since, for Justin, Psalm 110 was a definite "messianic" Psalm, he must have reasoned that the Jews would refer this Psalm to Hezekiah as they do other messianic prophecies.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. b. *Sukkah* 52b, where Kohler (*J. E.*, Vol. VIII, p. 450) wants to emend *kohen sodeq* to *malki sodeq*, — an emendation already hinted at by Rashi, *ad loc.* Cf. also *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, Version A, ch. 34 (ed. Schechter, p. 100), and J. Klausner's comments on this passage in *The Messianic Idea in Israel* (London 1956), p. 115.



# AN INVESTIGATION OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES IN THE JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION

JOHN BRIGGS CURTIS, Cincinnati

## I. DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES<sup>1</sup>

ABOUT two miles north of Jerusalem just south of the village of Ša'fat, a range of mountains detaches itself from the backbone of the Judean hills and runs south-east to the peak called Scopus. Then the ridge turns almost directly south until opposite the temple mount where it swings to the south-south-west and proceeds in that direction until the confluence of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys separates the ridge from the Hill of Evil Counsel, which is directly south of the city.

"The Mount of Olives" is a general term for the series of peaks in this ridge east of the city of Jerusalem. The change of direction from south-east to south occurs at a dip over which passes the ancient road to Anathoth. Just south of this pass is the mountain now called Scopus, but more properly called Sir John Gray hill, since "Scopus" originally was a name applied to a hill west of this rise. The hill here rises to an elevation of 2690 feet above sea level. Over Scopus passes the northern branch of the road to Jericho which follows Wâdy Rawâbeh to the east. South of the hill is another depression which separates Scopus from a broad plateau on which now stands the building of the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung. The next peak to the south rises to a height of 2684 feet and is called Viri Galilaei or locally Karm eş-Şayyâd and Karm Abul-Hawâ. Directly south lies the Mount of Olives in the narrowest sense of the name, for the next peak is the one directly east of the temple mount. On this 2636 foot hill is the traditional site of the ascension of Jesus and here stands the Church of the Ascension. This locale overlooks the city for it is about 100 feet above Jerusalem and 400 feet above the Kidron valley, which separates the mountain from the city. On the west slope of this rise is the traditional location of Gethsemane. This central peak has two spurs. Directly east is a rise to 2664 feet. On this point stands the

<sup>1</sup> This description is based on material found in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. III, cc. 3496 ff.; *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. IV, p. 2186; Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Bible Dictionary*, p. 645; Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, pp. 616 ff.; with reference to maps in *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, pp. 100 f.



"Russian Tower" that dominates the view of the mountain from any direction. To the south-south-west of the traditional ascension peak is the other spur, now called Prophets, because of some catacombs found there and attributed to the prophets. After another dip the range, tending to the south-south-west, rises to its final peak, Ġebel Baṭn el-Hawâ. This 2395 foot height is traditionally called the Mount of Offense, for it is thought to be the high place to the south of הר המשיח on which Solomon built the sanctuaries to foreign gods (I Kings 11.7; II Kings 23.13). Directly west of the peak, the Kidron and Hinnom valleys join as one and proceed south-south-east between the Mount of Offense and the Hill of Evil Counsel.

This ridge of hills is separated from Jerusalem by the Kidron Valley which begins as a depression on the level of Jerusalem at a point directly north of the city. This valley proceeds almost due east until it comes to the western face of Sir John Gray hill. Then with several curves the cleft proceeds almost due south. In its course the vale drops sharply into a ravine 300 feet deeper than the city and 400 feet deeper than the eastern ridge. The distance across the valley from the city to the mountain is  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile. The Arabic name of this cleft is interesting; it is called Wâdy en-Nâr, "Valley of Fire."

There is from the Ascension peak a ridge that slopes to the east away from Olivet toward the wilderness. On this slope lies the village of el-'Azarēyeh, the modern name for Bethany. In general, the eastern slopes of the mountain drop quite sharply toward the wilderness, the Jordan valley, and the Dead Sea.

The range itself is geologically hard cretaceous limestone, superimposed with strata of soft cretaceous limestone, with quaternary deposits on the summits.

There is every reason to believe that the eastern slopes of the mountain were given over to arboriculture since ancient times. The prevailing northwesterly wind presents the major problem to such activity, but the mass of the ridge affords comparative shelter to the eastern face. The chalky limestone breaks down into excellent soil for the growth of various trees, and thus cultivation seems logical on the now largely denuded slopes. The names הר הזיתים (or מעלה) and בית פני (house of figs), together with Bethany (if it means "house of dates," as usually proposed<sup>2</sup>), all indicate arboriculture on the hills. If Neh. 8.15, as seems likely, refers to the Mount of Olives, we have another reason for assuming that these slopes in ancient times were covered with every sort of tree necessary for the building of *sukthoth*.

<sup>2</sup> Abbott-Smith, *Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 80.

## II. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The specific references to the Mount of Olives in the Old Testament are probably only six in number. In each instance the passage is fraught with religious significance; but in general this significance is only tantalizingly suggested rather than specifically stated.

The first mention of the mountain east of Jerusalem is in II Sam. 15.30. This is in the midst of the story of David's flight from the city at the revolt of Absalom. The king was going up the Ascent of Olives (מעלה הזיתים) and was showing open and violent grief — weeping, going barefoot, and with his head covered. The most surprising feature of the narrative is that we are told that he came to a place where he customarily worshipped אלהים.<sup>3</sup> We immediately wonder about the reference of אלהים. Is this term supposed to refer to Yahweh or to another god or gods? If this is correctly understood as a customary place of worship, why do we have no previous mention in the OT of such practice? We find no answer to these questions. (See below, pp. 168 f., for further consideration of this passage).

A second reference to the Mount of Olives is contained in the record of the apostasy of Solomon, where the king is blamed, among other sins, for having built a high place to K<sup>c</sup>môš, the "abomination" of Moab, and to Mōlek, the "abomination" of the sons of Ammon, on the mountain which is before Jerusalem (בְּהַר אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם) (I Kings 11.7).<sup>4</sup> There is no reference to an earlier cult practiced on the mountain, nor is there reason given for the choice of this place as a sanctuary for such foreign gods. Though there is no specific statement, this cult must have persisted uninterrupted for centuries, for one of the glorious achievements of Josiah was that he destroyed and desecrated this sanctuary (II Kings 23.13). The historian at this place varies from the account in I Kings 11.7 in that he says there were בָּמֹת rather than בָּמָה present and in that he finds 'Aštōreṭ worshipped there as well as K<sup>c</sup>môš and Milkōm (מִלְכָם here for the מִלְךָ of I Kings 11.7). Whether we are to say that each deity had his separate בָּמָה, or whether we are to understand that the בָּמָה of 'Aštōreṭ was apart from the בָּמָה of K<sup>c</sup>môš and Milkōm is not certain. In either case, the ardent worshipper of Yahweh found the cult an alien and hostile rival

<sup>3</sup> In II Sam. 15.32a we read וַיְהִי דֹדַי בָּא עַד הָרָאשׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה שָׁם לֵאלֹהִים. The impf. of יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה must here be meant to express customary procedure, for there is no suggestion in the text that David pauses in his flight to worship any god.

<sup>4</sup> That אֲשֶׁר עַל פְּנֵי may mean "east of," follows from Gen. 25.18; Deut. 32.49; Josh. 13.3, 25, *et al.*

of the pure worship of the God of Israel. We would like to know the nature, the significance and the popularity of this religion, but again our sources are obscure and only suggestive. A peculiar feature of the place of the *במות* should be noted. These are described *ואת-הבמות אשר על-פני ירושלם אשר מימין להר-המשחית* (II Kings 23.13). This seems to mean that the sanctuaries were to the south of — or more probably, on the south slope of a peak called *הר-המשחית*. Such a place can only be one of the summits of the Mount of Olives. Traditional translations (KJV; ASV; RSV; cf. Jerome, *mons offensionis*) have taken *משחית* to be an abstract noun meaning "corruption."<sup>5</sup> Thus the term was considered a circumlocution for a place profaned by the worship of a foreign deity. Actually *משחית* is not a regular abstract noun derived from *שחח* "to ruin" but is a Hiphil participle of *שחח* which means in the active causative "to destroy"; the participle then must be "the destroyer." To this term we must later return.

A further mention of the Mount of Olives is found in one of the visions of Ezekiel, which is a rather lengthy picture of the sin of Jerusalem and the consequent punishment therefor (Ezek. 8-11). Once the spirit of Yahweh had pronounced the final doom of the city and its inhabitants, the glory of Yahweh (*כבוד יהוה*) left the city and went to stand on the mountain east of the city (*על-ההר אשר מקדם לעיר*) Ezek. 11.23). With this decisive act, the vision concludes. The exact significance of the retirement to the Mount of Olives is not stated.

Ezra and his associates, in their revival of Yahwism, derive from the law of Moses the command: *צאו ההר והביאו עלייזית ועלייעץ שמן ועלי הדס* (Neh. 8.15). The reference of *ההר* could very naturally be to the Mount of Olives, especially in view of the kind of boughs to be gathered for the building of the booths. However, certainty is not really possible.

The apocalyptic visions of the book of Zechariah furnish the final reference to the mountain. On some great day, it is foreseen, the Jews will be violently defeated, plundered, and exiled by a great alliance of hostile nations. But when all hope of human endeavor has failed, Yahweh will go forth and do battle with the enemies of his people.

<sup>5</sup> Another suggestion as to the meaning of *הר-המשחית* is that the term *משחית* is to be considered a term for "oil" or is paronomastic use of a term similar to the term for oil *משחה*. For the shades of interpretation of this point of view, see Georg Hoffman, "Kleinigkeiten," *ZAW* II, 1882, p. 175; B. Stade and F. Schwally, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, Part 9, *The Book of Kings*, p. 295; and E. Nestle's review of F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des Alten Testaments*, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, vol. 21, no. 5 (Feb. 29, 1896), c. 129. That the rabbis recognized a demon of destruction named *משחית* is seen from Deut. Rab. 3:11.

Then Yahweh will stand upon the Mount of Olives, and it shall be cleft in half from east to west. A very great valley will appear as half the mountain moves to the south and half to the north (Zech. 14.1-4). The vision continues, but the next verse is not clear. In vs. 4 we have the only occurrences of the name Mount of Olives (הר הזיתים) in the OT. This term is modified by the doubly redundant אשר על-פני מקדם ירושלם; but this repetition makes more certain what was already clear — that הר אשר על-פני ירושלם is nothing but the Mount of Olives. What we should really like to know is why the cleft occurred, but the text gives not the slightest indication.

### III. THE TERM הַמְשַׁחִית IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Since the Mount of Olives is designated in II Kings 23.13 by the term הר המשחית, it is necessary to examine the meaning of this name. The term משחית, both inflected and uninflected, occurs about 35 times in the OT.<sup>6</sup> The majority of these instances are rather colorless, but the determined המשחית occurs but 7 times and is rather interesting. It has already been noted that in II Kings 23.13 the Mount of Olives is called הריהמשחית "the mountain of the destroyer." The same term occurs in reference to Babylon in Jer. 51.25: הַמְשַׁחִית נֹאסִיָּהוּ הַמְשַׁחִית: "Behold, I am against you, O mountain of the destroyer, which destroys all the earth," says Yahweh; "and I will stretch out my hand against you, and I will roll you from the crags, and I will make you a mountain of burning." It might be pure coincidence that the terms coincide; but if the author had meant to describe Babylon as "the destroying mountain," it seems that he would have written הַהַר הַמְשַׁחִית. The writer rather seems to have taken Babylon as having some special relation to someone who could be characterized as הַמְשַׁחִית. It is characteristic of prophetic irony to take shibboleths of a group and to twist their meaning slightly or to make a paronomastic use of the terms so as to refute the persons concerned. It is possible that this is the use of הַמְשַׁחִית here. This is especially likely since the term משחית appears in a similar use in the first verse of this chapter. Verse 25 concludes with the threat that Yahweh will make Babylon הַר שְׂרָפָה. If there is a play

<sup>6</sup> The occurrences are (exclusive of הַמְשַׁחִית) as follows: משחית in Gen. 19.14; Isa. 54.16; Jer. 2.30; 5.26; 51.1; Ezek. 21.36; Prov. 6.32; 18.9; 28.24; I Chron. 21.12; הַמְשַׁחִית in Ezek. 9.8; ומשחית in Jer. 4.7; למשחית in Ex. 12.13; Ezek. 5.16; 9.6; 25.15; Dan. 10.8; II Chron. 20.23; 22.4; משחיתם in Gen. 6.13; a plural form of משחית in Gen. 19.13; Judg. 20.42; I Sam. 6.5; II Sam. 20.15; Isa. 1.4; Jer. 6.28; 22.7; II Chron. 27.2.

upon *הר המשחית*, it is possible that the term *הר שרפה* is also involved and might have been applied in a positive sense to Babylon, but was given a negative twist by the prophet.

Another occurrence of the term *המשחית* is in the instructions about preparations for the plague of death in Egypt. On this occasion Moses states that, if the people will fulfill the prescriptions set forth, Yahweh will not let *המשחית* come to their houses to plague them (Ex. 12.23). The personage here involved is clearly a messenger or angel of death, conceived of as subservient to Yahweh.

Yet another story of a plague uses the term *המשחית*, though in a different manner. The narrative of David's being faced with the decision as to which plague he would prefer to have sent to Israel involves a personality called *המלאך המשחית בעם רב* (II Sam. 24.16). Clearly *המשחית* is a descriptive term here rather than an appellative and the same is true of the parallel passage in I Chron. 21.15, but the choice of the term and its application to the *מלאך יהוה* is indeed interesting. As far as this story is concerned, the *מלאך יהוה* is an agent of death, a bringer of plagues, and a destroyer, who annihilates people with the permission of Yahweh.

The other two occurrences of *המשחית* (I Sam. 13.17; 14.15) are technical uses meaning "a band of raiders" and thus do not apply here.

Two uses of *משחית* (without the article) should be noted. Prov. 18.9 says: *נֹם מַחֲרֵף בַּמִּלָּאכָתוֹ אִם הוּא לְבַעַל מִשְׁחִית*. At face value the verse says that the man slack in his work is a brother to "Lord Destroyer," though it is possible that *בַּעַל מִשְׁחִית* may mean "the man who destroys." In Isa. 54.16 one of the claims of Yahweh is *וְאֵנֹכִי בְרָאֲתִי מִשְׁחִית* לחבל. Admittedly *משחית* may be a general term here for "destroyer" with specific reference to Babylon, but it is also possible that *משחית* may be a spirit or personality manifested in every form of destruction.

In conclusion, it seems likely that the OT knows a superhuman personality who plagues and destroys. This being also appears to have borne some special relationship to the Mount of Olives and to Babylon.

#### IV. K<sup>e</sup>môš AND Mōlek

In order to obtain some insight into the connection between this mythological "Destroyer" and the Mount of Olives, it is necessary to raise the question as to the deities known to have been worshipped there. As noted above, I Kings 11.7 records that Solomon erected a sanctuary on the mountain to K<sup>e</sup>môš and Mōlek. The text reads



או יבנה שלמה במה לכמוש שקץ מואב בהר אשר על-פני ירושלם ולמלך שקץ בני עמון. The singular *במה* does not allow us to insist that only one sanctuary was built for the two gods, but it is possible that a single holy place is meant. At any rate, in the mind of the author, the two deities were closely connected, for he mentions them together, and certainly each had his place of worship on the same height.

Kēmōš<sup>7</sup> is normally considered a god peculiar to Moab (I Kings 11.7, 33; II Kings 23.13; Jer. 48.7). Moab is indeed called "the people of Kēmōš" (Jer. 48.46; Num. 21.29, almost identical passages). This means that Kēmōš and Moab stood in a special relation to each other. Moab worshipped Kēmōš and fulfilled the rites of his religion; Kēmōš then took special care of Moab by protecting them from enemies, both spiritual and temporal. In the speech of Jephthah to the Ammonites, we have an interesting exception to the general practice of considering Kēmōš as the patron god of Moab. Here Jephthah refers to Kēmōš as "your god." Actually it would set the record straight if we would insist that the reading *כמוש* is here an error for *מלך* or *מלכם*.<sup>8</sup> We would then assume that the writer of the passage, who was more closely acquainted with his neighbors and their gods than we can ever be, completely erred. Or we would have to say that the error entered through transmission of the text, but *מלכם* or *מלך* does not sound nor look enough like *כמוש* to explain the error as accidental. Nor is there any conceivable reason to say that a scribe deliberately altered a reading of *מלך* or *מלכם* to *כמוש*. Thus we would best consider the text accurate and say that Kēmōš must have been a god of both the Moabites and the Ammonites.

The god of the Ammonites is normally called *מלכם* (I Kings 11.5, 33; II Kings 23.13) and perhaps *מלכם* (Jer. 49.1, 3; Zeph. 1.5), though

<sup>7</sup> For discussions of previous proposals about the meaning and nature of Kēmōš see "Kemosch," Baudissin, *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. J. J. Herzog and A. Haupt, vol. 10, pp. 243-246; "Chemosh," G. F. Moore, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. 1, cc. 736-738; and Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 13-15. Baethgen, makes a great deal of the well-known gem belonging to *כמשיחי* and picturing apparently a flaming winged sun. From this he concludes that Kēmōš is a sun god. This conclusion is totally unwarranted for the inscription is *לכמשיחי* "belonging to *כמשיחי*" (see de Vogue, *Mélanges d'arch. orient.*, p. 89; Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen*, tab. III 10). Though this man seems to have been named for Kēmōš, there is no reason to think that the figure of the gem is a representation of Kēmōš. Baethgen does correctly conclude that Kēmōš and Mōlēk are equivalent, but without adequate evidence.

<sup>8</sup> G. F. Moore, *Judges (ICC)*, p. 295, cites the different opinions that have been given of this reading; he then concludes that the whole speech, without regard to the context, was composed with reference to Moab not Ammon.



the latter spelling may be an error in pointing or may not refer to a deity at all. As already noted this divine personage is called מִלֵּךְ in II Kings 11.7.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately none of these passages tells us anything about the god מִלֵּךְ. We do know, however, that in the valley of the son (or "sons" with K<sup>e</sup>tîl<sup>h</sup> II Kings 23.10) of Hinnom a rite was practiced which was called לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם לְמִלֵּךְ (Jer. 32.35; II Kings 23.10; Lev. 18.21). This terminology most easily refers to the actual sacrificing of children as burnt offerings to the god,<sup>10</sup> though Jensen<sup>11</sup> suggests that this is merely a symbolic act, a substitute for the sacrifice no longer practiced. The Holiness Code (Lev. 20.1–5) considers the giving (נָתַן) of children to Mōlek as a most abominable act, which is worthy of death. From this passage we recognize that the worship of Mōlek survived the strenuous measures of the reform of Josiah and was present in the exilic or post-exilic period.

A passage most strikingly suggesting the identity of the two deities dealt with does not use the name of either but certainly deals with K<sup>e</sup>mōš. We are told in II Kings 3.27, that the king of Moab, hard pressed in battle, offered his eldest son, the heir to the throne, as a burnt sacrifice. Because of this a great wrath was kindled against Israel, so that in the ensuing battle the Israelites were defeated and compelled to withdraw. Clearly the sacrifice thus made was offered to the god of Moab, K<sup>e</sup>mōš. But this practice is itself strikingly similar to the offering of children to Mōlek. We again have considerable reason to wonder if K<sup>e</sup>mōš and Mōlek are not indeed the same deity.

One of the most illuminating pictures of the god K<sup>e</sup>mōš is to be found in the famous Moabite Stone or Meša' Inscription. Meša', the king of Moab, tells that Omri, the king of Israel, had oppressed Moab because K<sup>e</sup>mōš was angry with his land (ll. 4–6). Omri's son had

<sup>9</sup> The traditional pointing is used here though it is usually explained that the name מִלֵּךְ has been pointed with the vowels of בִּשָּׁת.

<sup>10</sup> There is a well-known and oft-quoted description of the idol of Moloch, according to which the idol was anthropomorphic with outstretched arms holding its palms horizontal and open upward. These palms were said to have been heated and on them the child was laid by the priest to be roasted to death, while loud music was played to drown the screams of the victim and the parents looked on without emotion. G. F. Moore in "The Images of Moloch," *JBL* XVI (1897), pp. 161–165, has shown in considerable detail that this description is not genuine but is borrowed from reports of Greek historians about worship of Kronos among the Carthaginians. The fact that this account is not genuine, however, should not be considered as evidence that there was no sacrifice of children to Molek.

<sup>11</sup> P. Jensen, "Die Götter כְּמוֹשׁ und מִלֵּךְ und die Erscheinungsformen *Kammuš* und *Malik* des assyrisch-babylonischen Gottes *Nergal*," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 42, 1934, p. 236.

sought to continue the oppression but Meša' had defeated Israel (l. 7). He attacked the Israelite garrison at 'Aṭārōt and put to death the entire town as a spectacle (רית) to Kēmōš and Moab (l. 12). Kēmōš is quoted as having said "Go, take Nebo against Israel." This he did, making חרם the people of Nebo to עשתריכמוש (ll. 14-17). The sanctuaries of Yahweh were destroyed there (ll. 17 f.). Then Kēmōš drove Israel out of Jahaz (ll. 18 f.). Later Kēmōš commanded, "Go down, fight against Horonaim" (l. 32). — The implications of this text remind one of OT theology. Even as the pre-exilic prophets insisted that the lands of Israel and Judah suffered because Yahweh was angry with them, so Meša' feels that Moab can suffer only because Kēmōš is angry. How his anger was appeased we are not told unless the slaughter at 'Aṭārōt was considered propitiation. At any rate, the Moabite king feels that all his campaigns against Israel and his destruction of the altars of foreign gods are at the specific behest of his god. Indeed it is Kēmōš who wins the victories for him. At Nebo we hear of the violent massacre called חרם according to which every living creature is slaughtered as an act of devotion to the deity. Interestingly the holy massacre is for the benefit of עשתריכמוש rather than simply כמוש. The former deity is undoubtedly the consort of Kēmōš, the "Aštar of Kēmōš." It is clear from the Myth of Nergal and Ereškigal<sup>12</sup> that the original Assyro-Babylonian deity of the underworld is a female, Ereškigal; the male deity only later became associated with her. The original idea in the ancient Near East seems to have been that the earthly sphere, and with it the underworld, is female, the heavenly sphere being male. Subsequently, however, female deities were associated with the gods of heaven and males with goddesses of earth. Thus when we have in the Moabite Stone the sacred sacrifice חרם to the consort of Kēmōš, rather than to Kēmōš himself, we find a reflection of ancient concepts of underworld deities. Thus, with the exception of the consort, our only Moabite source pictures Kēmōš, as a national god, in much the same way as the Bible, conceives of Yahweh as the national god of Israel.

One further feature of the Moabite Stone may indicate the identity of Kēmōš and Mōleḵ. The first line of the text suffered severely in the breaking up of the stone so that it is not completely legible. The text (in part) reads

אנך משע · בן כמש [מלך] · מלך מאב

<sup>12</sup> J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 969 ff. — This myth tells how Nergal, a god of the heavenly sphere, fell from his lofty estate to become the consort of Ereškigal, the goddess of the underworld.

The bracketed damaged signs here represent the real problem.<sup>13</sup> Smend and Socin read מלך without equivocation, but later Socin and Holzinger expressed doubt about the ל. Lidzbarski in 1898 (*Nord-semitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898) read לך with doubt as to a first consonant, but later, (*Ephemeris für semitische Epig.*, Giessen, 1902) decided to read כן, in which he was followed by Driver. Ginzberg read נר, and Levy read the same with doubt about the נ. Clermont-Ganneau suggested נר or שלם or שלך, and even נרב on the basis of the name in Sennacherib's account of his third campaign. Kaempf abandons all attempts to read the text and proposes to read עשור from l. 17, with the application of the name to the deity, not to Meša's father. Nöldeke, Compston, and Vriezen-Hospers avoid the problem by leaving a blank. In view of such vacillation, no certainty is obtainable; but most scholars read with reluctance at least in part מלך so that the name may have been כמ-שלם. This name can mean either "K'môš is king" or "K'môš is Mōlek." If the latter is correct, then we have another indication of the equation of K'môš with Mōlek.

Jensen<sup>14</sup> in his brief, but highly suggestive article has shown reason to believe that Mōlek (Milkom) and K'môš are nothing more than specialized local forms of the Assyro-Babylonian god of death and the underworld, Nergal. His reasons for this conclusion are briefly: (1) The name of the place of sacrifice to Mōlek becomes in Greek and Arabic the name for hell; i. e. נִיא הַגִּם = Γέννα = جَهَنَّمَ. (2) The god Nergal is called apparently "the pure (or holy) stove," which suggests that he was a god especially manifested in the fire of the underworld. It is possible that the "stove" is of the type used for whole-burnt sacrifices. (3) To a female associate of Nergal's human sacrifice was required under certain conditions. (4) In a certain list of gods *Kammuš* is equated with Nergal, and in another *Ma-lik* is likewise equated with Nergal. (5) The Qur'ân 43:77 knows of مَالِكُ who is the ruling spirit in hell. — The reasons set forth by Jensen are striking in that they support what has already been shown — that there is considerable reason to believe that K'môš and Mōlek are the same deity. It is worthwhile that Jensen's evidence should be examined here.

<sup>13</sup> The textual considerations here are based on the critical apparatus in Bennett, *The Moabite Stone*, plus an examination of Compston, *The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*; Levy, *Das Mesa-Denkmal und seine Schrift*; Vriezen and Hospers, *Palestine Inscriptions*; Kaempf, *Das Rühmen Moab's*; Nöldeke, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*.

<sup>14</sup> Jensen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 235-237.

The valley where the idolatrous sacrifice occurred (II Kings 23.10; II Chron. 28.3; 33.6; Jer. 7.31 f.; 19.2, 6; 32.35) is usually called גִּי בֶן הַנֶּחֱם, but Josh. 15.8 and 18.16 both use גִּי בֶן הַנֶּחֱם and גִּי הַנֶּחֱם as equivalent terms for a locality at Jerusalem. The shorter name of this place of sacrifice abominable to an orthodox worshipper of Yahweh became the name for hell among the Jews, the Christians, and the Arabs. It is most significant that the Qur'ân names the god of hell (جَهَنَّمَ) مَالِك, as follows:

ان المجرمين في عذاب جهنم خالدون \* لا يفتر عنهم وهم  
فيه مبسوثون \* وما ظلمناهم ولكن كانوا هم الظالمين \*  
ونادوا يا مالک ليقض علينا ربك قال انکم ماکثون \*

Sura 43:74-77<sup>15</sup>

Behold, the guilty are remaining forever in the pains of hell. It shall not become lessened for them, and they shall be stupefied in it. We have not wronged them, but they have done wrong; and they cry "O Malik, let your master make an end of us." He said, "Behold you shall remain."

Here we get a picture of the eternal suffering of the guilty in hell. They will cry out to Mālik that he allow (or urge) his master (i. e. Allah) to annihilate them (so that their sufferings will cease). But Mālik answers that they must continue (in their suffering). Clearly

Mālik is the god reigning over the dead in a place called جَهَنَّمَ. This Mālik is certainly nothing but the מלך worshipped in גִּי בֶן הַנֶּחֱם. However, Mālik is never equated with Šaitan in Islam.

The NT is so involved with Satan or the Devil as a spirit of evil and sin that only on the rarest occasion do we get a view of him as a god of death. But two passages seem to reflect in him the ancient picture of the god of death. In Hebrews 2.14 f. the writer says of Jesus:

Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παῖδια κεκοινωνήκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχευεν τῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον, καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τοὺτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἐνοχοὶ ἦσαν δουλείας.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Corani Textus Arabicus*, Gustavus Fluegel, p. 263.

<sup>16</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Eberhard Nestle, 20th edition, p. 551.

Here the devil is pictured as "him who has the power of death." The work of Jesus is considered as a bout between himself and the god of death, so that, by a ruse, the power of the death-god was broken and thus men were freed from his control. In Jude 9 a very strange incident is described as follows:

Ὁ δὲ Μιχαήλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωϋσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλὰ εἶπεν ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι κύριος.<sup>17</sup>

Here seems to be a reference to a non-extant work about the assumption of Moses. The important element for us is that the devil is pictured as feeling that he has a rightful claim to the corpse of Moses, but his claim is disputed by a heavenly power. Clearly again here the devil has something of the role of Mālik in Islam — that of god of the dead. Yet another passage knows of a realm of the dead without mention of the god of the dead:

ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τουτ' ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος<sup>18</sup> (I Peter 3.18–20).

Those who were formerly disobedient are considered as being imprisoned in some realm where Christ could reach them only after he was put to death.<sup>19</sup> Thus the mission of Christ is again connected with the ancient motif of the realm of the dead. It is worthy of note that the dead are called τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν; if imprisoned, we wonder who is to be thought of as the keeper of the prison. Since we are not told, it is probably safe to assume that again the devil is considered as guard over the dead much like Mālik in the Sura cited above. In view of the Qur'ân and the NT, there is no reason to doubt that the Mōlek worshipped in the Hinnon Valley survived as the god of the dead who had power in Gehenna.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 611.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 588 f.

<sup>19</sup> The doctrine of the "descent into hell" has had a long and varied history. See "Hell (Descent into)," *A Dictionary of Christ and the Apostles*, vol. 1, pp. 713–716. N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.



Tallqvist<sup>20</sup> and Deimel<sup>21</sup> give one of the names for Nergal as (É)-gir<sub>4</sub>-kù "heiliger Ofen." We do not know the exact nature of the stove with which it was appropriate to associate Nergal. Jensen<sup>22</sup> hazards an admittedly doubtful guess that it might be the kind of device used for whole-burnt sacrifice. In any case, we see that the Babylonian underworld and death god is particularly associated with fire — a role that seems fitting for K<sup>e</sup>môš and Mōlek, who received burnt human sacrifice.

Johns<sup>23</sup> published two contracts that make a striking provision in case either party defaulted. We quote the pertinent lines according to the transliteration of Kohler and Ungnad: "aplu-šu a-na <sup>iu</sup>Sin išarrap mârat-su rabî-te itti *pa.nu* erini a-na Be-lit-<sup>iu</sup>šeri i-šar-rap"<sup>24</sup> "His son he shall burn to Sin, his oldest daughter with 20 ka(?) of cedar he shall burn to Belit-šeri," and "mârat-su rabî-tú itti 20 ka erini a-na Be-lit-<sup>iu</sup>šeri i-šar-rap"<sup>25</sup> "His oldest daughter he shall burn to Belit-šeri with 20 ka of cedar." Both deities mentioned here may be considered underworld gods, Belit-šeri being the scribe of the underworld<sup>26</sup> while Sin passed three days each month in the underworld. This penalty clause providing for the burning of the eldest daughter of the party violating the contract reminds us of the Meša' Inscription quoted above, p. 145, according to which K<sup>e</sup>môš's consort was to receive human sacrifice.

Two god-lists make certain what has already been suggested by other data. A partially damaged but completely legible list has in parallel columns of gods one line which reads: "<sup>d</sup>Ma-lik <sup>d</sup>Nergal."<sup>27</sup> In yet another list we find the ideogram for Nergal first in a long list of gods with whom he is equated; among these deities occurs "<sup>d</sup>Ka-am-muš."<sup>28</sup> Thus cuneiform texts confirm the equation of Nergal with both Mōlek and K<sup>e</sup>môš.

<sup>20</sup> K. L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonischen Namenbuch*, p. 267, and *Akkadische Götter-epitheta*, p. 390.

<sup>21</sup> A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, II Teil, band 3, pp. 632 f.

<sup>22</sup> Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

<sup>23</sup> C. N. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. 1, p. 351, No. 436 (K. 1488), rev. ll. 7 ff. and p. 390, No. 474 (K. 439). rev. ll. 5 f.

<sup>24</sup> J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, p. 124, No. 163 (K. 1488 = J 436), ll. 20-22.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76, No. 96 a (K. 439 = J 474), ll. 17 f.

<sup>26</sup> Apparently Belit-šeri is pictured as the scribe of the underworld who kneels before Ereškigal, the queen of the nether regions in the Gilgamesh Epic. See Jensen, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen*, p. 190. (KB VI<sup>1</sup>, 190, 47).

<sup>27</sup> Otto Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts*, p. 50, No. 63 (VAT 10173), l. 37.

<sup>28</sup> *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c. in the British Museum Part*



A possible further indication that Nergal was worshipped under the name K<sup>e</sup>môš is to be found in some data of a rather late period. Eusebius makes the following comment:

Ἀρινά, ἥ καὶ Ἀριήλ. Ἀκύλας, Σύμμαχος λέοντα. ταύτην εἶναι φασὶ τὴν Ἀρέopolιν, ἐπειδὴ καλοῦσιν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀριήλ τὸ εἶδωλον αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀρέopolιν οἰκοῦντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ σέβειν τὸν Ἀρεα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασιν.<sup>29</sup>

Eusebius obviously thought of either Rabbath-moab or Ar-moab, both of which were called Ἀρέopolis in the Roman period. In his opinion that city and its idol received their names from the fact that Ares, or Mars, was worshipped there. Jerome<sup>30</sup> in his commentary on this passage disagrees with Eusebius and interprets with Aquila and Symmachus, applying the name Ἀριήλ to Jerusalem only. The most valid criticism of Eusebius is to point out that Ἀρέopolis may be a corruption of the Semitic 𐤀𐤓. However, some weight seems to be given to Eusebius' idea by the occurrence of coins of the time of Geta and Severus which picture a standing warrior in the type of Mars.<sup>31</sup> One might object to the interpretation of this figure as Mars that, at this late period, a god represented on a coin would probably be the Nabatean Dusares rather than the old Moabite K<sup>e</sup>môš.<sup>32</sup> This argument is not decisive, however, for certain Semitic gods habitually absorb the name and character of the previous god of the locale, e. g. Yahweh absorbs 'El 'Elyôn so that the former is called by the name of the latter and the god of Israel is worshipped at the sanctuary of his predecessor — indeed even the stories about 'El 'Elyôn are said to concern Yahweh. In the same way Dusares may have inherited much of his personality from K<sup>e</sup>môš. Thus it is possible that even at this late period K<sup>e</sup>môš was remembered to be a god of war, who could be identified with the Greek Ares. One of the functions of Nergal was that of god of war, for a god of death and the underworld secondarily becomes the god of everything that produces death and thus swells his realm.

XXIV, Plate 36 (K. 4349), rev. ll. 51, 66. — If the -mm- seems strange when compared with 𐤎𐤌𐤍, we see that this seems to have been normal in cuneiform, for we find in Sennacherib's third campaign mention of a Moabite king 𐤎𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤌𐤎𐤕𐤌𐤎 (c. II, l. 53). Thus the eastern Semites must have heard a double -mm- preceded by an "a" vowel.

<sup>29</sup> Eusebii Pamphili Episcopi Caesariensis Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum Sacrae Scripturae, ed. F. Larsow and G. Parthey; pp. 58, 60.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 59, 61.

<sup>31</sup> G. F. Moore, "Chemosh," *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. I, c. 738.

<sup>32</sup> Idem.

## V. SOME FEATURES OF THE PERSONALITY OF NERGAL

To apply to the Judaeo-Christian tradition the principle that K<sup>c</sup>môš and Mōlek are only specialized local expressions of Nergal, it is necessary now to examine some aspects of the personality of this god.

Nergal's character was by no means simple, for he seems to have had two different phases of personality, one benevolent, the other malignant. He was, on the one hand, the god of death and of the realm of the dead; war, violence, flood, plague, and famine are his special concern. On the other hand, he emerges as the god of life who protects his worshippers, by whom evil spirits are exorcised, and who gives life, especially to vegetation. Böllenrücher has aptly called this phenomenon Nergal's *Januscharakter*.<sup>33</sup> An especially illuminating picture of Nergal may be gleaned from the several hymns and prayers to him that have come down to us. The first of the texts collected by Böllenrücher is one which shows the benevolence of the deity. After an opening invocation which praises the deity, the worshipper lays open his heart and begs for help from the gracious divine personage. The author of this psalm seeks the favor of the fearful deity by attributing to him great wisdom:

Neben Ea im Götterkreise ist dein Rat hochangesehen;  
mit Sin am Himmel durchschaust du alles.<sup>34</sup>

A god who has insight comparable to that of the highest gods can also be praised for his graciousness:

Weil du gütig bist, o Herr, wende ich mich an deine Gottheit;  
weil du voll Erbarmen bist, suche ich dich auf.  
Weil du gnädig blickst, schaue ich auf dein Angesicht;  
weil du voll Vergebung bist, stehe ich vo[r dir].<sup>35</sup>

In the belief that these words of praise would win him the deity's favor, the worshipper then prays for forgiveness.

<sup>33</sup> Josef Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15. Text is transliterated and translated by Böllenrücher from K. 2371 and K. 13791 with the duplicate published by King, *Magic*, no. 27. The text reads:

it-ti <sup>d</sup>E-a ina puḫur ilāni mi-lik-ka šu-tur  
it-ti <sup>d</sup>Sin ina šamê<sup>e</sup> ta-še-'i gim-ri

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15. The text reads:

aš-šum gam-ma-la-ta be-lí as-sa-ḫar ilu-ut-ka  
aš-šum ta-a-a-ra-ta eš-te-'ú-ka  
aš-šum mu-up-pal-sa-ta a-ta-mar pa-ni-ka  
aš-šum ri-mi-ni-ta at-ta-ziz maḫ[ar-ka]

The hymn just cited is not an isolated instance of Nergal's being conceived as a benevolent god. The same idea is expressed in an invocation against Evil Spirits found in the Series Utukkî limnûti. The sorcerer in this case, in seeking to exorcise a malignant spirit, profited of an auspicious constellation of the heavenly bodies to invoke these deities supposedly capable of casting forth the evil demon; his face turned toward the setting sun, he begins as follows:

Šamaš is before me, Šin is behind [me],

Nergal is at [my] right hand, Ninurta is at my left hand.<sup>36</sup>

The mention of Nergal, the planet Mars,<sup>37</sup> has a meaning here only if he is conceived of as using his might over the demons to break their power.

<sup>36</sup> R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. I, pp. 14 ff., Utukkî limnûti, tab. II, ll. 142 ff., transliterated and translated this text from CT 16 and 17. These lines read:

Šamaš ina pa-ni-ja Šin ina ar-[ki-ja]  
Nergal ina im-ni-[ja] Ninurta ina šu-me-li-ja.

<sup>37</sup> Jensen (*Kosmologie*, pp. 135 f.) cited considerable evidence to show that Nergal was equated with the planet Mars: First, the planet has the name (dingir) Gud-(ud) (II R 49; No. 3, 44), while Nergal is designated as (dingir) Gud-gud (II R 54, No. 5, 71 Obv). Second, Bibbu (i. e. Mars) is called (dingir) Nin-gir-banda (V R 21, 27cd), which in V R 21, 25cd is equated with Almu, a specialized local form of Nergal. A confirmation of Mars as the star of Nergal is found in the Mandaean נירייל (see Nöldeke) and נירי for the planet Mars. Further, Al-bîrînî (*Chronologie oriental. Völker*, ed. Sachau, p. 192) cites نرغال as the Syriac name of Mars. Thus it can be granted that Nergal was considered as the deity manifested in the red planet.

The planetary character of Nergal is suggested also by a lapis lazuli cylinder seal (WAG. 42.189) described by C. H. Gordon ("Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq*, vol. VI, p. 9), as follows:

A bearded god wearing a flat cap sits on a covered chair. His long robe with bordered top and bottom opens down the front and is suspended from the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare and free. He salutes a bearded, flat-capped worshipper, who returns the salute and wears a robe much like the god's. A flounced-robed goddess, whose divinity is indicated by a many-horned crown, raises her hands in intercession and blessing. From the mural paintings of Mari [See *Syria*, XVIII, 1937, pl. XXXIX (opposite p. 336)] we now know that the flounced robe was many-coloured. Before the god is an eight-pointed star within a crescent.

Also we learn from Gordon that the seal bears the inscription: In-zu-zu dup-sar (2) dumu A-ag-ga-na (3) èr Nè-irî-gal. "Inzuzu, the scribe, son of Aggan(a), servant of Nergal."

Since the owner of this seal proclaimed himself as the servant or worshipper of Nergal, it seems safe to assume that the deities represented are Nergal and a consort, probably Ereškigal. The planetary symbol on this seal is a further association of Nergal with the celestial sphere.

A clay cone of Warad-Sin contains a prayer as follows:

In my work may Nergal, my god,  
take delight; a destiny of life, a long  
reign, a throne of firm foundation, may he give.<sup>38</sup>

Here is an invocation of Nergal as a gracious and benevolent deity, who is considered able to grant blessings of long life and prosperous, unchallenged reign.

Even as late as the period of the papyri of the Jews of Elephantine we find Nergal's blessing being invoked by a worshipper:

אל אחי חגי אחור  
ירחו שלם אחי  
בל ונבו שמש ונרגל<sup>39</sup>

To Haggai my brother [from] your brother Yarho.

May Bêl and Nabû, Šamaš and Nergal give well-being to my brother.

In this place so far removed from Kutû, the ancient city holy to Nergal,<sup>40</sup> his favor was sought by a certain Haggai together with that

<sup>38</sup> C. J. Gadd and Leon Legrain, *Ur Excavations*, Texts, I, no. 125 col. II, lines 13-19. This text is transliterated and translated by G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 378 f. The text reads:

<sup>13</sup>nîg-kî-kî-da-mà  
<sup>14</sup>Ne-irî-gal dingir-mu  
<sup>15</sup>hu<sup>1</sup>-mu-hûl-lî <sup>16</sup>nam-tar  
nam-ti(l)-la <sup>17</sup>bal(a) sud-[du]  
<sup>18</sup>gišgu-za suhuš g[i-na] <sup>19</sup>sag-e-eš  
ha-ma-ab-rig, (PA. KAB)

<sup>39</sup> A. Dupont-Sommer, " 'Bêl et Nabû, Šamaš et Nergal' sur un ostracon arameén inédit d'Éléphantine," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, v. 128 (1944), p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> That Nergal was considered as dwelling originally at Kutû is seen especially from the epithet MES. LAM.TA.Ê.A "the god who goes forth from Ê. MES. LAM," a term applied to him by Šulgi of the Third Dynasty of Ur [Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-279 (CT, IX, no. 35389; Lenormant, *Choix de textes cuneiform inedites* no. 61)] and Gudea (Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255; Amiand, in de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée* p. XXXII; Thureau-Dangin *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d' Akkad*, 198 ff.; *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königeinschriften*, 140 ff.). The Nergal sanctuary at Kutû, Ê. MES.LAM, was repaired by Šulgi (*see above*), by Sin-gamil (E. Schrader, ed. *Keilinschrift Bibliothek*, vol. III, part 1, pp. 84 f.), by Hammurapi (G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, vol. II, pp. 8 f.; *iiia*, 1 ff.), and by Ashurbanipal (R. C. Thompson and M. E. L. Mallowan, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-32," *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. 20 (Nov., 1933), p. 83). The Bible also knows of the special connection of Nergal with Kutû, for II Kings 17.24-35, in describing the occupation policies of Sargon, mentions that people from Kutû (or Cuthah) were settled in

of other Babylonian gods. This little text indicates the persistence of the worship of this deity even though his devotee is quite distant from the best known centers of his worship.

Another feature of the gracious Nergal is found in the fragmentary psalm K. 11153 which Böllenrücher transliterates and translates as his text Nr. 2. The first two partially legible lines read:

[            ]-ú ilu ri-mi-nu-ú  
[            ] mu-bal-liṭ <sup>m</sup>mîtu<sup>41</sup>  
    . . . . gracious god,  
    . . . . who causes the dead to live.

These words picture the god as compassionate and as "one who causes the dead to live." A similar idea is found in K. 8310, line 3:

ša nap-ḫar            bul-lu-ṭu [it-ti-ka (?)]  
[Du, bei (?)] dem jede Belebung.<sup>42</sup>

To these Böllenrücher compares the personal name Nergal-uballit (Bezold, Cat. V 2138).<sup>43</sup> Of especial interest is the term *mu-bal-liṭ* <sup>m</sup>mîtu "he who can cause the dead to live." This may mean literally that Nergal is one who raises the dead, but resurrection is an idea almost totally lacking in the Assyro-Babylonian literature. Rather to this must be compared OT passages like Ps. 30.4 Q<sup>c</sup>rê:

יהוה העלית מן־שאול נפשי  
חייטני מירד־יבֹר

Even as the psalmist claims Yahweh brought him up from the realm of the dead, so Nergal can be said to have the power to restore to life. The worshipper had come to the very brink of death, but at the moment of despairing his deity saved his life or gave him a new lease on life. The devout man must attribute his salvation from death to his god.<sup>44</sup> Ebeling translates a Sumerian prayer to Nergal, who is

Samaria and were worshipping Nergal there. But Nergal was not confined to Kutû. Ashurbanipal repaired a shrine for this deity at Tarbiṣu (*ibid.*, p. 84). This sanctuary was also renovated by Sennacherib (Rawlinson I 7c). A certain Ariṣen, king of Urkiš and Nawar characterizes Nergal as the divine king of the town of Ḫa-wi-lim (Thureau-Dangin, RA, IX, pl. I; Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171). Thus the worship of Nergal which originally was centered at Kutû spread to other holy places.

<sup>41</sup> Böllenrücher, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>44</sup> A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, pp. 208-210, deals with the term *muballit mîti* at length. It is appropriate to sketch his suggestions here: The term is one applied to a number of gods like Marduk, Nabu, Ninurta,



praised among other things as he who "allows the land to become green" and who "increases the green." This same prayer says that "he renews the blood, causes death (and) life."<sup>45</sup> Thus again we find him as the god of life. Among the many appellatives which Tallqvist finds applied to Nergal, four are noteworthy in this connection: Lugal-giš-a-tu-gab-liš "king of the mulberry tree" (KAV 63, III 17); Lugal-giš-gišimmar "king of the date palm" (KAV 63, III 19); Lugal-giš-šinig "king of the tamarisk" (KAV 63, III 16); Šar-bu-u "lord of the mulberry tree" (CT 25:35, Rs. 26; 37, 16).<sup>46</sup> Since plants emerged from the earth, the lower regions of which were the abode of Nergal, it was only logical that he should be considered the god of vegetation.

Thus from the evidence cited above it is clear that Nergal was

Shamash, *et al.* (Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, pp. 67 f.). [It was especially appropriate to apply the term to Gula, the healer of the sick.] That the Mesopotamian people could call the brink of death by the term "death" is seen from many texts. In *Enuma elish*, Tablet VI, 153 f., Marduk is called the one "who restored all the ruined gods, as though they were his own creation; the lord who by his holy incantation restored the dead gods to life" (*uballitu ilâni mîtûti*). Clearly the gods had not actually died but had come to the brink of destruction. In the same epic (VII, 26), Marduk is called "the lord of the holy incantation, who restores the dead to life" (*muballit mîti*) — the "dead" here being the vanquished gods who had been allied with Tîamat but whose lives were spared. In the Sargonid letters two selections give a similar usage: "After the city Birat was devastated and its gods were carried off, I was a dead man (*mîtu anâku*). But when I saw the golden seal of the king, my lord, I was restored to life (*abtalui*). But now, when I send my messenger (to inquire) concerning the welfare of the king, my lord, I did not see the seal of the king, my lord, and so was not restored to life (*ul ablu*); I am a dead man (*mîtu anâku*). Let the king, my lord, not forsake me!" (Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 259, rev. 1-10). "With the many deeds of kindness, which from the beginning the king, my lord, has shown (me) and manifested (toward me), who was but a dead dog, the son of a nobody, the king, my lord, has restored me to life (*uballitanni*)" (Harper, *op. cit.*, No. 521:4-7). Returning to the idea referred to deities, he finds it said of Ninurta: "The body of him who was brought down to the underworld (*ana arallê*) thou dost restore (*tutarra*)" (King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 2:22). Cyrus calls himself "the lord who by his power has restored the dead to life (*sha . . . uballitu mîtûtiân*)" (Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. V, Pl. 35: 19). By this he means that he freed the Babylonians from the rule of Nabonidus. Similarly the Hittite king Shuppiluliumash can say: "The dead (*mîta*) land Mitanni I cause to live (*uballazu*) (and) restore it to its former estate" [H. H. Figulla, E. Forrer, E. E. Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1923), No. I, rev. 22]. Thus Heidel has demonstrated from the literature that *muballit mîti* refers to deliverance from dire circumstances and not to resurrection from the dead.

<sup>45</sup> Erich Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, part I, pp. 165-170. The lines cited are obv. 3, 9, 16.

<sup>46</sup> Knut Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, pp. 390 f.; 350, 353, 452. This study is vol. VII of *Studia Orientalia*.



considered as capable of being benevolent and as concerned for life and its preservation under some circumstances. The reason for such a concept is to be found in the dark side of Nergal's personality, to which we must now direct our attention. A god of death and of the underworld can be considered one who preserves life; for, if he is appeased, he will refrain from taking life. The worshipper reveres the god of death and evil, believing that by so doing he will deter the deity from causing his death and from bringing calamity to him. To understand Nergal properly we turn now to the more characteristic concepts about him.

The benevolent side of Nergal is at best only a small portion of his being. Basically he is a god of death, violence, war, pestilence, and flood; he is a hero among the gods, a mighty warrior, a raging demon, a sword. He is a pitiless being who destroys and crushes and overthrows. All these characteristics are seen in the psalms to him. A brief fragmentary psalm translated by Böllenrucher is instructive for it contains characteristic epithets of Nergal:

Warrior! Raging storm-tide, who flattens out the lands in  
upheaval,  
Warrior! Lord of the underworld,  
One who goes forth from Mes-lam,  
Great bull, Lord of strength,  
Lord of Kutha,  
Lord of Ê-mes-lam  
One who oversees Hêndur-sag-ga,  
Warrior! Šubula  
Raging storm-tide, who has no rival  
Who wields the weapon, who raises the troops.<sup>47</sup>

Here he is seen in his more usual relationship, as a violent god who kills and destroys. The other hymns collected by Böllenrucher present

<sup>47</sup> One copy of this text (K. 5137) was published in IV R 26, 1, and was treated by Böllenrucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23. It reads as follows:

ur-sag a-má-uru <sub>5</sub> šúr-ra	ki-bal-a sud-sud
qar-ra-du a-bu-bu ez-zu	sa-pi-in māt nu-kúr-ti
ur-sag umun urugal-la	ki-bal
<sup>d</sup> Mes-lam-ta-è-a	ki-bal
am(á)-gal umun gîr-ra	ki-bal
umun Ġú-du <sub>8</sub> -a ki	ki-bal
umun Ê-mes-lam	ki-bal
li-bi-ir <sup>d</sup> Hêndur-sag-gá	ki-bal
ur-sag <sup>d</sup> Šu-bu-lá (!)	ki-bal
a-má-uru <sub>5</sub> huš-ām	gaba-ri nu-tuk-a
a-bu-bu ez-zu	šá ma-hi-ra la i-šu-u
GIŠ.Ġ gištukul il-la	erim huš mu-un-zi-zi
na-áš kak-ki	di-ku-u a-na-an-tum

in more detail the same picture. Nergal is the "oppressor of the hostile,"<sup>48</sup> "raging fire god"<sup>49</sup> "the bursting of a dam which destroys the produce of the fields,"<sup>50</sup> "a lion, clothed with terror"<sup>51</sup> "pitiless,"<sup>52</sup> "strong bull."<sup>53</sup> These appellatives could be multiplied, but their general import is obvious. Almost any term that denotes strength and violence might be applied to Nergal. A few characteristic descriptions will be noted here.

Especially terrifying is the picture of Nergal as the god of the flood-producing storm. Nergal's rising up is a storm or a hurricane which puts down the mountain and the land.<sup>54</sup> He is compared to a raging storm-tide and a dam bursting because of the flood waters and destroying all the crops.<sup>55</sup> His word may be described similarly.

It is a storm let loose which has no appointed rival.

It stills the heavens; it strikes the earth.

As though they were a *buru* reed, it wipes out a mother with her child.

It makes the lofty reed marsh to exist,

It increases the harvest in the standing grain.

It is a storm let loose . . . .

It is a high water which tears away the dike,

It besmears the great *mesu*-trees.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Böllenrücher, *op. cit.*, p. 19 (K. 11153, line 14).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26f (K. 4809, line 12).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35 (K. 69, lines 1, 3).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51 (K880, line 9). Nergal seems to have borne a special relationship to the lion, which served as one of his divine symbols. See Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 489 f, and H. Zimmern, "Göttersymbole des Nazimarruttaš-Kudurru" apud K. Frank, *Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrische Götter*, pp. 34 f., 40, 43. Zimmern holds that the lion-head Kudurru represents Nergal who is mentioned in the legend. — See also P. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, s. v. *nergallu*, p. 481.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19 (K. 11153, line 20).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35 (K. 69, line 6), p. 45 (K. 4995, line 18).

<sup>54</sup> Ebeling, *op. cit.*, p. 166 (obv. 15).

<sup>55</sup> See above.

<sup>56</sup> This very difficult hymn is transliterated and translated by Stephen Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 78 ff. The text was published by Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonischen Hymnen*, no. 7, rev. lines 17-24. The text may be tentatively transliterated as follows:

<sup>17</sup> a-ma-ru zi-ga gaba šu-gar(a) nu-un-tuk

<sup>18</sup> an al -dúb-dúb-bu ki al-sìg-sìg-ga

<sup>19</sup> gi-kid-maḥ-àm ama-dumu-bi šu-ba mi-ni-ìb-gur-ri

<sup>20</sup> GI.LI an BUL-ba-àm mi-ni-ìb-gá-gá <sup>21</sup> šibir PA še-ba mu-ni-ìb-su-su

<sup>22</sup> a zi-ga-àm ka al-ur-re <sup>23</sup> a-maḥ(a)-àm kar al-ag-ag <sup>24</sup> gišmeš gal-gal-la gú gur<sub>6</sub>-ru-uš-àm-me

Since a storm is capable of devastating all that lies before it, Nergal as god of death quite logically could be described in terms of the most violent of storms.

Little need be said of Nergal as god of the underworld. The variety of terms for the nether regions is considerable but these may be noted from Tallqvist's compilation: Lugal-ḥus-ki-a "king of the dreadful land," Lugal-ḥu-bur "king of the Ḥubur River," Lugal-ḥuṣ-uru "king of the fearful city," Lugal-keš-da "king of the underworld," Umun-urugal-la "lord of the great city." One of the two regular forms of the name Nergal Nè-irí (unu)-gal means "the might of the great city," apparently referring to the lower world.<sup>57</sup>

Nergal is also invoked as a god of war. He is the great sword-god,<sup>58</sup> who is the commander of battle.<sup>59</sup> It is his authority which brings either victory or defeat.<sup>60</sup> Nergal raises the weapon and impels to combat.<sup>61</sup> Many kings believed that victory was given to them by the god Nergal. For example, Šulmânu-ašarid III considered that his kingdom was given to him by a great array of gods among whom he mentions *Nergal git-ma-lu šar tam-ḥa-ri*.<sup>62</sup> Pritchard prints translations of several texts in which a king gives the credit for his victory to Nergal. In defeating the Aramean coalition Šulmânu-ašarid III says

I fought with them with (the support of) the mighty forces of Ashur, which Ashur, my lord, has given to me, and the strong weapons which Nergal, my leader, has presented to me, (and) I did inflict a defeat upon them between the towns Karkara and Gilzau.<sup>63</sup>

Similar expressions of belief that Nergal has given victory are made by Naram-Sîn,<sup>64</sup> Esarhaddon,<sup>65</sup> and Ashurbanipal.<sup>66</sup> Thus clearly Nergal is to be regarded as a god of war in addition to his other functions.

One other feature is worthy of note from the prayer and hymn material — Nergal as the god of disease and pestilence. His word makes the people — yea, even the whole land — sick; it weakens and ravages the land.<sup>67</sup> A picture of Nergal of great significance is the following

<sup>57</sup> Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 389–391.

<sup>58</sup> Böllenrücher, *op. cit.*, p. 26. See also Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14 (K. 2371, line 2).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19 (N 11153, line 19).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22 (K. 5137, line 12).

<sup>62</sup> Schrader, *K. B. I*, p. 130.

<sup>63</sup> J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, p. 279.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 289–300.

<sup>67</sup> Böllenrücher, *op. cit.*, p. 37 (K 69, rev. lines 20–24).

Gro[sser] Schwertgott, bei dessen Flusses Gedröhn das verriegelte  
Haus . . . .

Gott Nergal! Grosser Schwertgott

Herr, der bei Nacht umhergeht, dem verschlossene Türen von  
selbst sich öff[nen]<sup>68</sup>

To express thoughts like this of their god, people must hold him in great awe that is mingled with terror. The deity is the uninvited guest who enters in spite of all preparation against him. He comes bearing a sword to slay whom he will. There are some similarities between this idea and that of the plague of death in Egypt (Ex. 12.29 ff.). In chapter III above, it was noted that the agent of death was called המשחית (Ex. 12.23) and that the Mount of Olives was designated הרדמשחית (II Kings 23.13). Without insisting, we should regard it as possible that המשחית of the OT is Nergal in his function as plague-god and destroyer.

Especially interesting from our point of view are the royal curses in the name of Nergal. Among the curses at the end of the Code of Hammurapi is one which invokes Nergal. A future king who does not heed the words of the code or who effaces the name of Hammurapi and replaces it with his own is cursed as follows:

May Nergal, mighty amongst the gods, the warrior whom none can resist, who has fulfilled my eager desire, by his great power consume his people like a fire raging amongst the rushes, may he cleave him asunder with his mighty weapon and shatter his limbs as of a statue of clay.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26 (K. 4809, lines 40 ff.).

<sup>69</sup> CH XXVIII r, 24-39; latest transliteration: Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, II, pp. 104 f. As for l. 39, see W. von Soden, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis der Gesetz Hammurabis und Bilalamas," *Archiv Orientalni* 17<sup>2</sup>, 1949, p. 368. He prefers to read li-ih-bu-uš from a root ḥabašu "zerkleinen, häckseln" instead of li-ih-pu-uš from ḥapašu, an unusual root. The text reads:

ⁿNergal  
dan-nu-um i-na ì-lí  
qá-ba-al la ma-ḥa-ar  
mu-ša-ak-ši-du  
ir-ni-ti-ia  
i-na ka-šu-ši-šu  
ra-bi-im  
ki-ma i-ša-tim  
iz-zi-tim ša a-bi-im  
ni-ši-šu  
li-iq-me  
in kakki-šu dan-nim  
li-ša-ti-šu-ma  
bi-ni-a-ti-šu  
ki-ma sa-lam ti-ti-im  
li-ih-bu-uš

The lawgiver considers Nergal as basically a warrior god, whom man is powerless to resist; by wielding his weapons he may utterly destroy man as though he were but a clay figure. It is noteworthy that the punishment invoked for the transgressor's people is compared to the consuming fire among the dry woods; this reminds us of the connections of Nergal with fire as seen in the epithet Ê-gir<sub>4</sub>-kù, mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Whoever should efface an inscription of Šamši-Adad I was to be punished by several gods among whom was Nergal:

(9) <sup>d</sup>Nergal (10) i-na ka-áš-ka-ši-im (11) i-ši-it-ta-šú (12) ù i-ši-it-ti ma-ti-šú (13) li-ir-ta-ad-di<sup>70</sup>

May Nergal with strength carry away his treasure and the treasure of his land.

The deity is here invoked to carry away the treasure of such an insolent person along with that of his country. Here again Nergal is the agent of calamity — probably he is to bring defeat and plunder in war.

A baked cylinder in the Yale Babylonian Collection contains a mortuary inscription of Šamaš-ibni, to whose remains Aššur-etil-ilâni showed much respect. According to Meissner,<sup>71</sup> Šamaš-ibni, the king of Bît-Dâkûri had died in captivity in Assyria. Aššur-etil-ilâni, the king of Assyria, found himself in great difficulty when in 626 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, successfully revolted against him. To win the favor of the people of Bît-Dâkûri, who had long been enemies of Babylon, he returned to them the body of Šamaš-ibni to be buried in his native country. In this way he hoped to win an ally against the Babylonian menace. In the mortuary inscription for Šamaš-ibni, Aššur-etil-ilâni invokes several gods, to punish the ruler who violates the tomb. Among these invocations one mentions Nergal:

May Nergal from misery, pestilence, and calamity not protect his life.<sup>72</sup>

Here the deity is conceived as one who can at his pleasure bring or withhold all forms of calamity. Such a terrible god could afflict any man who acted improperly.

<sup>70</sup> E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrische Könige* (Altorientalische Bibliothek I), p. 24.

<sup>71</sup> Bruno Meissner, "Šamaš-ibni von Bît-Dâkûri," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 21, 1918, p. 219.

<sup>72</sup> A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, No. 43, 19 f., p. 61 and pl. XXX. The text reads:

<sup>d</sup>Nergal ina ti-' šib-tu u šag-ga-áš-ti  
la i-gam-mi-il nap-šat-su

Among certain Babylonian boundary stones transliterated and translated by King, several invoke Nergal to punish the man who violates the terms of the contract. In each case the one who repudiates the agreement recorded on the stone is to be punished by various gods in ways appropriate to the personality of each god.

May Nergal, the lord  
of war and battle,  
slay him in his battle!<sup>73</sup>  
May Nergal, the lord of spears and bows,  
break his weapons.<sup>74</sup>  
May Nergal in his destruction not spare (?)  
his offspring!<sup>75</sup>

Appropriately Nergal is designated "the lord of war and battle" and then called upon to kill the wicked man in battle. Likewise as lord of spear and arrow, he is invoked to break the weapons of the dishonest. Some other stone inscriptions invoke Nergal in the company of other deities:

May Anu, Enlil, and Ea,  
Nannar, Shamash, and Marduk,  
Nusku and Sadarnunna,  
Nergal and Laz  
tear out his foundation, and his seed  
may they snatch away!<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, p. 62 (No. 90835, col. II, lines 3-5) and pl. LXX. The text reads:

ᵈNergal bêl  
qab-lî ù ta-ḥa-zi  
i-na taḥḥazi-šú liš-gi-is-su

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47 (No. 90840, col. IV, lines 21 f.) and pl. LI. The text is:

ᵈNergal bêl be-lêê ù qa-šá-ti  
ka-ak-ki-šu li-še-bir

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23 (No. 90829, Col. IV, line 2, p. 23) and pl. XXVII. The text is:

ᵈNergal i-na ša-ga-aš-ti pir'a-šu a-a  
i(?) - . . . .

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6 (No. 102588, Face B, lines 11-16) and pl. 3. The text reads:

ᵈAnu ᵈEn-lil ù ᵈEa  
ᵈNannar ᵈŠamaš u ᵈMarduk  
ᵈNusku ᵈSa-dàr-nun-na  
ᵈNergal ù ᵈLa-az  
išid -su li-is-su-ḥu zêr-šu  
li-il-qu-tu



Adad, Nergal and Nana, the gods of Namar,  
 Saḥan, the bright god, the son of the temple of Dêr,  
 Sin and the lady of Akkad, the gods of Bît-Habban,  
 Contrive evil against him!<sup>77</sup>

Severe punishment such as the destruction of a man's life, property, and family — all these are functions of Nergal. Thus these curse formulae confirm our previous conclusions about the dark side of Nergal's character.

Another curse that invokes a group of gods supports the ideas about Nergal so far presented. In a decree of Adad-nirâri III from Nineveh we read:

(24) [whoever shall put this in water], or burn in fire, (25) or bury (it) [in the earth], or in another place (26) put (it), or into a house of darkness (cellar), (27) a place without access shall bring (it) and place (it), (28) Ashur, Shamash, Nabu, Marduk, Bel, the father of the gods, (29) Ninurta, the warrior, Nergal, the lord of the staff, (30) the Assyrian Ishtar, — these great gods (31) may look angrily upon him . . . (32) and destroy his people from the land . . . (33) leprosy on his bo[dy may they inflict], (34) like a garment may they des[troy].<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36 (No. 90858, II, lines 48–52) and pl. LXXXVIII. The text reads:

<sup>d</sup>Adad <sup>d</sup>Nergal u <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a ilâni<sup>meš</sup> šá mâtNa-mar  
<sup>d</sup>Saḥan (<sup>d</sup>MUŠ) ilu šu-pu-ú mâr bîti šá <sup>â</sup>Di-e-ir  
<sup>d</sup>Sin ù bēlit <sup>â</sup>Ak-ka-di ilâni<sup>meš</sup> šá Bît-<sup>m</sup>Ḥab-ba-an  
 ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> an-nu-tu i-na uz-za-at lib-bi  
 a-na limutti<sup>ti</sup> li-iḥ-ta-sa-as-su-šu-ma

For the reading of <sup>d</sup>Saḥan for <sup>d</sup>MUŠ, see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

<sup>78</sup> Thompson and Mallowan, *Univ. of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* vol. 20 (1933), pp. 114 f. The text reads:

(24) . . [ina mē i-na-du]-u lu ina  
 išati išarrapu<sup>u</sup> (25) l[u-u ina  
 iršiti] i-tam-me-ru lu ina aš-ri  
 ša-ni-im-ma (26) i[-š]a-ka-nu  
 lu-u ina bît a-šak-ki (27) a-šar  
 la-' a-ri ušerib-ma i-na-su-ku  
 (28) Aššur <sup>d</sup>Samaš <sup>d</sup>Nabû <sup>d</sup>Marduk  
<sup>d</sup>Bêl abî ilâni<sup>meš</sup>, (29) <sup>d</sup>Ninurta  
 qar-ra-[du] <sup>d</sup>Nergal bēl šib-ṭi  
 (30) <sup>d</sup>Ištar Aš-šu-ri-tu ilâni<sup>meš</sup>,  
 rabûti<sup>meš</sup> an-nu-ti (31) iz-zi-iš  
 lik-kil-mu-šu-[ma] . . . . . (32)  
 u ummâni-šu i-na mâti li-ḥal-  
 li-iḥ (33) iš-šub-ba-a i-na zu- . . .  
 (34) kima šu-ba-ti li-ḥal-[li-qu]

Since a group of gods are invoked here, we cannot argue decisively about the character of Nergal; but it is notable that every element of the curse conforms well with the dark side of deity's personality.

Another curse similar to the latter invokes a group of gods as follows:

<sup>1</sup>Whoever this <sup>2</sup>inscription  
<sup>3</sup>destroys <sup>4</sup>may Shushinak, <sup>5</sup>Ishtar,  
<sup>6</sup>Naride, <sup>7</sup>and Nergal <sup>8</sup>his foundation  
<sup>9</sup>tear out <sup>10</sup>and his seed <sup>11</sup>destroy!<sup>79</sup>

Again Nergal is invoked among other gods to destroy the man who dares violate the stone set up on behalf of Puzur-Shushinak, priest-king of Susa.

A source of information about Nergal yet to be examined is the extant mythological material. From the tell Aqar Quf, the ancient Dûr-Kurigalzu, there have come four inscribed fragments of a larger-than-life statue of the Kassite king Kurigalzu. These Sumerian fragments are quite obscure for a number of reasons. Neither do the fragments fit together, nor do we know how much of the text is missing between them. At best the extent of the text is but a small portion of the whole. There are some words that are not known. Most confusing of all is the fact that the signs are grouped in columns by two's and three's without regard to sense. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the text may be translated only tentatively. Nevertheless it seems that the subject is the powers and duties of the gods. In Fragment C (IM 50010) we read "For Nergal, Enlil, and Nin-lil . . . d the tail-end and the mouth of the nether world, the place whither (?) the Anunnaki drew nigh . . ." and "... of (?) the earth, they presented to him (Nergal) all sleeping mankind . . ."<sup>80</sup> This material is not very helpful, but it does show us that among the Kassites Nergal was regarded much as he was among the Semites. He is associated with

<sup>79</sup> V. Scheil, *Délégation en Perse* VI, pl. 2, no. 1, col. 2, lines 1-11. The text reads:

<sup>1</sup> šu tuppam    <sup>2</sup> šu-a    <sup>3</sup> ù-ša-sá-ku<sub>8</sub>  
<sup>6</sup> dŠušinak    <sup>4</sup> dIštar    <sup>5</sup> dNa-rí-dè (dNa-uru-dè)  
<sup>7</sup> dNergal (dNè-irí-gal)    <sup>8</sup> išid-su  
<sup>9</sup> li-sú-ḫu    <sup>10</sup> ù zêr-šū<sub>11</sub>  
<sup>11</sup> li-il-qù-tù

Line 3 is difficult to read. It is possible that the second sign is to be read ša<sub>18</sub>. — Deimel, *Pantheon*, no. 2758, lists the deity of line 4 as dNinni-erin.

<sup>80</sup> All the material is from S. N. Kramer, T. Baqir, and S. J. Levy, "Fragment of a Diorite Statue of Kurigalzu in the Iraq Museum," *Sumer*, vol. IV (1948), pp. 1-18.

the nether world and is the one to whom the dead are delivered. More we cannot say.

The myth of "Ishtar's Descent to the Underworld" is a Semitic version of an old Sumerian myth. The narrative opens with Ištar's descending to the nether regions. She obtains entrance only by a conditional curse to which we shall return below. Once Ištar was in the realm of the dead and stripped of all her divine apparel, Ereškigal ordered her imprisoned and afflicted with all the most terrible miseries. Since man and beast had lost sexual interest during her imprisonment, Ea planned to liberate her and therefore created a eunuch of very pleasant form. Descending to the nether world this eunuch won the favor of Ereškigal and exacted of her a boon. His request was for the release of Ištar. Ereškigal was greatly angered but released the captive goddess. The conclusion is obscure but seems to indicate that Ištar had gone to the lower regions to rescue Tammuz. The demand for entry to the underworld is couched in the following terms:

O watcher, open the gate!  
 Open the gate that I may enter!  
 If you do not open the gate,  
 I will break the threshold, I will tear down the doors,  
 I will shatter the boundary wall . . . . .  
 The dead shall rise, they shall devour the living,  
 The living will be more numerous than the dead.<sup>81</sup>

Since resurrection is not a normal characteristic of Akkadian religion, the threat of Ištar is somewhat surprising. This passage indicates that there was always a possibility that a deity with the proper power could raise the dead to life. If this possibility were carried out, however, it would have been a curse rather than a blessing, for the resurrected dead would outnumber the living and the former would consume the latter. Thus though the dead might be raised, it was assumed to be better if they remained dead.<sup>82</sup> In the old Sumerian version of this

<sup>81</sup> The text was published in KAR I, No. 1, by E. Ebeling and was transliterated and translated by Samuel Geller, "Die Rezension von „Ištars Höllenfahrt aus Assur," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. 20 (1917) col. 42. The text reads:

Obverse 12. âtu me-e pi-i-ta-a bâba  
 13. pi-ta-a bâba-ma a-na-ku lu-ru-ub  
 14. [šu]-um-ma la-a ta-pa-ta-a ba-a-ba-am  
 15. a-ma-ḥaṣ si-ip-pa uš-ba-lak-ka-ta dalâti  
 16. a-šab-bir birîta a-šâ . . . . . up-ra  
 17. el-lu-u-ni mî-tûti-ma ik-kal-lu-u bal-tu-ti  
 18. el-me-tu-te i-ma-'-du [bal-t]u-ti

<sup>82</sup> Line 42 obverse of the text (*ibid.*, col. 42) uses the name Kutû for the under-

myth the central personage is Inanna rather than Ištar; the content of the two versions does not differ greatly,<sup>83</sup> but one additional idea is noteworthy. According to Kramer,<sup>84</sup> when Inanna rose from the underworld, the dead arose also as well as many demons who fled the nether regions. Witzel,<sup>85</sup> however, dealing with the same passage considers that the term "the dead" is singular and refers to Tammuz, who was given to her as a gift and was borne along by the nether demons. In either case some person or persons considered dead were resurrected at the ascent of Inanna from the lower regions.

In the twelfth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic there is a narrative that has very little to do with the rest of the epic.<sup>86</sup> Gilgamesh lost some object or objects, which apparently fell into the nether world through a hole. To regain his lost treasure he sent Enkidu with strict instructions of the taboos to observe if he wished to return from the underworld; but the headstrong servant broke every taboo and thus was snatched by the underworld. Depressed by the turn of events, Gilgamesh sought a patron among the gods. Finally Ea hearkened to Gilgamesh's prayer, and he commanded Nergal to open a hole in the earth for the spirit of Enkidu to come forth. The underworld god complied, and Enkidu's spirit came forth like a windpuff, so that he and Gilgamesh could commune. — The shade of Enkidu is not a resurrected body, but a spirit that has no material quality. Still it is significant that this ghostly being returned to earth through the activity of Nergal. The death-god opened a hole in the earth to permit this apparition to pass.

One other myth ought to be noted. This is the famous and ex-

world. This is an interesting transfer of the name of the old sanctuary town to the nether regions (see above, note 40).

<sup>83</sup> The most important difference in the two recensions of the myth is to be found in the method by which the goddess was raised from the underworld. In the Sumerian account two creatures are sent to sprinkle the corpse of Inanna with the food of life and the water of life. As indicated above, in the Akkadian account Ea sent a eunuch to obtain the release of the captive Ištar by a ruse. A discussion of this difference may be found in A. L. Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology III," *Orientalia* 19, (1950), pp. 136-139. As will be seen from this discussion the exact method employed by the eunuch to trick Ereškigal in the Akkadian version is not clear.

<sup>84</sup> See *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. LXXXV (1942), pp. 293-323, pl. I-X, and Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-57.

<sup>85</sup> Maurus Witzel, "Zur sumerischen Rezension der Höllenfahrt Ischtars," *Orientalia*, vol. 14 (1945) 24-69, pp. 50 f., 64 f.

<sup>86</sup> For a translation and discussion of the entire epic, see Heidel, *op. cit.* For a discussion of the problems relating to Tablet XII, see S. N. Kramer, "The Epic of the Gilgamesh and its Sumerian Sources," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 64 (1944), pp. 7-23.

tremely difficult "Myth of Irra,"<sup>87</sup> which characterizes Marduk as the god of good par excellence, who is worshipped by the people of Babylon. So pervasive is his influence that all his worshippers are extremely good and kind like their god. It is the desire of Irra (i. e. Nergal)<sup>88</sup> to control the people of the city but this he cannot do as long as Marduk remains in authority. Now it happens that Marduk's crown had been damaged in the flood, thus Irra persuades Marduk to descend to the nether region for repairs to his divine emblem. It is agreed that during his absence Irra would rule over Babylon. Once the power of good is no longer effective, Irra immediately corrupts the people and their worship; he causes war, revolt, and slaughter. Temples are desecrated and devastated. Peace no longer reigns in the city. The people become like their reigning deity Irra — agents of violence and destruction. The moral of the mythological legend is summarized in the closing hymn which calls upon the people to leave room in their worship for the revering of the god of evil. In this way he might be reconciled so as not to bring further devastation.

A certain Kummâa (a pseudonym meaning "the man of the city of Kume")<sup>89</sup> figures in a literary work of the seventh century as a prince who had a dream in which he went to the underworld and saw all its inhabitants. Among his most vivid memories are those of Nergal, who sat on a royal throne wearing his regal crown and holding signs of his authority. In a violent rage the deity burst forth in a bitter accusation against the prince for allegedly slighting Ereškigal. Išum interceded on behalf of Kummâa so that he was spared; but Nergal required of him that he remember him and serve him. Accepting this command, the prince returned from the underworld, awoke, and went about preaching the worship of Nergal and Ereškigal. — Von Soden<sup>90</sup> has pointed out that this vision is really a political apocalypse to vindicate a claimant to the throne. This, however, should not

<sup>87</sup> This myth was, *inter alia*, transliterated and translated by P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (KB VI, pt. 1), pp. 57-73. Ebeling apud H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament*, pp. 213-230, also translates the myth. The interpretation given herein, however, was derived from an interview with Dr. Hildegard Lewy, who graciously consented for me to use this as yet unpublished interpretation.

<sup>88</sup> That Irra is identical with Nergal is seen from considerable evidence cited by Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 329. See *inter alia* CT 24:36, 54.25:35; KAR 142, III 26; K 268+K. 5333.

<sup>89</sup> According to K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 118, the name Ku-ma-a-a means "the man of the city of Kume."

<sup>90</sup> Wolfram von Soden, "Die Unterweltsvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 43 (1936), pp. 7 ff.

deter us from using the material in it, for the writer must have used fairly conventional symbols in his own arrangement to present his message. The emotional outburst of the deity is described as follows:

51 . . . . . Nergal . . . . .

55. machte gegen mich gewaltig sein [Geb]rüll  
und schrie voll Wut wie ein he[ulen]-  
der Sturm gegen mich; den Stab, der seiner  
Gottheit ziemt, der wie eine Giftschlange  
voll der Furchtbarkeit ist,

56. schleift er [ge]gen mich, um [mich] zu töten.<sup>91</sup>

The terrifying picture of Nergal is characteristic — roaring mightily, shrieking, and full of fury, he may be compared to a howling storm. The raging deity wielded his staff, his divine symbol, against the helpless prince; this weapon is full of terror like a poisonous snake. — It is worthwhile to note that ultimately Nergal was deterred from his intent to kill Kummâa; in a sense at least he proved gracious. Though this is a dream and not an actual descent into the nether world, it is significant that at the close of the actual dream the prince ascends back to earth.

On basis of the literature examined above, we must conclude that Nergal was primarily a god of evil forces. As god of the underworld, he ruled over the dead and eagerly sought by every means to increase the population of his realm. Thus he came to be considered the god of any force causing death. As a violent god who delights in causing death and calamity, he is invoked to destroy evildoers and is considered to give victory in battle. A worshipper seeking to avoid untimely death would worship Nergal, believing that such devotion would prevent the deity from becoming angry. Euphemistically the devotee would call Nergal a gracious deity in hope that by so doing he would avoid bringing calamity to himself.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 23 f. Ebeling, *MAOG*, X, 2 (1937), p. 15 also gives this text. The text was originally transliterated and translated from VAT 10057 by Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, pp. 6 f. These lines read:

(55) [ri-g]im-šu ú-dan-nin-am-ma  
ki-ma u-me š[e-g]i-i ez-zi-iš  
e-li-ja i-šá-as-si šab-bi-tu  
si-mat ilû-ti-šu šá ki-ma  
ba-áš-me pu-luḥ-tu ma-lu-ú  
(56) [a?-n]a? lib-bi-ja i-šá-a-ṭa  
a-na da-ki-ja



## VI. REFLECTIONS OF THE NERGAL CULT IN THE BIBLICAL AND POST-BIBLICAL TRADITIONS<sup>92</sup>

Since it has been established that the Mount of Olives was the seat of a Nergal cult, we must seek to see how far this cult influenced events centering in the hill. Hildegard Lewy<sup>93</sup> has shown that Jerusalem from very ancient times was a city holy to Šalim or Ninurta, the violent and destructive god of the planet Saturn. There is no need to survey her evidence here, but there is need to see the relation of the Šalim cult to the Mount of Olives and to the cult of Nergal. For this purpose we must return to some OT narratives that were mentioned above.

The flight of David from Absalom in II Samuel 15 seems to be more than a simple retreat. The king is showing open signs of grief and mourning; this is to be expected since his pampered son has raised a revolt against him. However, the people of the country are also in open grief at this time (v. 23), though the knowledge of the revolt is not yet widespread. It is, therefore, possible that the revolt was not the only cause of sorrow but that the people were performing a ritual mourning for a deity. This is made more probable by the fact that the ark is carried along with David a certain distance until he bids the Levites carry it back to the city (vv. 24 ff.). Thus it may be that the Mount of Olives was originally the site of the akitu-shrine of Šalim. To such a shrine the symbol of the deity would be brought at certain times when the deity was thought to have descended to the underworld, and from this shrine it would be returned at the appropriate time to the shrine of the deity within the city for the enthronement of the deity. On this supposition the mountain was originally a Ninurta shrine.

It is recorded that David customarily worshipped (ישתחוה) certain אלהים on the height (see above, p. 139). It is certainly probable that Ninurta was among the אלהים, but for the following reason it is likely that also Nergal was revered there. It was assumed by the ancient Semites that each country was the property of its national god, who appointed an earthly ruler to administer it in his name. In order to be chosen by the god for this office, it was necessary for a prince to worship

<sup>92</sup> Some of the material dealt with in this chapter was discussed by Dr. Julian Morgenstern in lectures which I had the privilege to attend. While profiting from his views, I could not concur with his attribution of the phenomena here discussed to solar worship.

<sup>93</sup> Hildegard Lewy, "Origin and Significance of the Mâgên Dâwîd," *Archiv Orientalni*, vol. XVIII, no. 3 (Nov. 1950), pp. 330-365.

that deity, his reverence frequently being expressed by his erecting of a sanctuary for the god. Thus Šulmânu-ašarid, when he desired to place himself under the special protection of the god of Jerusalem, founded the city of Kalḫu, the Assyrian residence of the god Ninurta.<sup>94</sup> Therefore it is probable that when David sought to take the territory of the Moabites and the Ammonites, he expressed his devotion to Kēmôš and Mōlek, the divine patrons of these countries, by establishing a shrine for them in the immediate vicinity of his capital city. Thus it is possible that the Nergal cult was not transplanted to Jerusalem until the time of David. The Mount of Olives was an appropriate site for the newly transplanted cult, for a planetary deity normally would be invoked on a high place, since such a place was closer to the heavenly abode of the astral gods than the plain. If, as seems likely, the mountain was already sacred to Ninurta, the new shrine could be added to the holy precincts with ease. Thus it was only natural that Solomon should erect a shrine to Mōlek and Kēmôš at the sacred area outside the city (I Kings 11.7). Once the worship was established it persisted tenaciously long after Israel had lost control of the original abode of the two deities. The Nergal priesthood would jealously guard their right to preserve the worship of their deity lest they become unemployed. The pious could be convinced that to discontinue the cult once established would mean to incur the wrath of the violent god. Thus the worship once accepted into the mountain sanctuary would necessarily continue.

When Josiah began his violent purge of all matters pertaining to the cult of deities other than Yahweh in the religion of Israel, it was only natural that his wrath should fall upon the Nergal shrine on Olivet. But his efforts were not to succeed. The figure of the god of death was too well implanted in the minds of the people to be forgotten. Indeed under the term *הַמְשַׁחִית* Nergal as agent of death was probably incorporated into the orthodox tradition of the Passover (Ex. 12.23); he became the angel of death who brought the final plague to the Egyptians. Even the Deuteronomist, who was an exponent of the Josianic reform, records in the same breath his gleeful account of the razing of the Olivet shrines, but still calls the mountain the property of Nergal — *הַר־הַמְשַׁחִית*. The prophetic mention of *הַר־הַמְשַׁחִית* (Jer. 51.25) with reference to Babylon is logical in this light, for the prophet looked for a catch-phrase to apply to the conqueror — a catch-phrase which could be applied to the overlord positively but which was capable of a negative twist. Since in Babylonia Nergal was worshipped

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

and normally on a height, this land could be called הריהמשחית "the mountain of the destroyer." Yahweh, in the words of the prophet, will be a destroyer to the mountain of the destroyer. The verse concludes ונתתיך להר שרפה "I will make you a mountain of burning." This logically applies also to Nergal, for he was a god especially of underworld fire. Tallqvist even lists Šar-ra-pu (CT 25:35, 24; 36, Rs 30; 37, 20) "the one who burns (other people)"<sup>95</sup> as an epithet of Nergal. The words "I will make you a mountain of burning" could be taken as a favorable statement by Nergal worshippers were this not a passage of prophetic irony. It is interesting that the Kidron Valley at the foot of the Mount of Olives is today called Wâdy en-Nâr, "valley of fire." So near to the precincts sacred to Nergal, the name is quite logical and is probably a memory of a very ancient name or concept.

In Ezra's command to the people to go out to the mountain to gather boughs for the booths (Neh. 8.15), we may have nothing more than a chance event without significance for our problem. But since Nergal was a god of life and especially of vegetation, it is possible that the sukkoth festival may originally have had some connection with that god. This becomes apparent if one notes that one of the names of Nergal is Lugal-giš-gišimmar "king of the date-palm." For it was required that the sukkah be built, in part, of date palm branches. If these were collected, as seems likely, from the Mount of Olives, the area sacred to Nergal, it is possible that in very ancient times, the sukkoth festival was related to agricultural functions of Nergal.

The strange vision of Zech. 14.4 pictures Yahweh standing on the mountain, while it is cleft in two from east to west with one half proceeding to the south and the other to the north, leaving a great cleft between. The vision, however, is not clear as to its continuation or meaning. Among the murals in the synagogue at Dura-Europos there is a representation of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezek. 37). From the facsimile at this mural (fig. 1) it will be noted that about the ground lie portions of human bodies, while near the center are some bodies assembled but still dead. Just to the right of center are four spirits of the wind which apparently give life by breathing upon the corpses. Across the top of the mural are four outstretched hands, apparently of Yahweh, who is raising the dead. Just to the left of center is a great mountain that is cleft in the midst. Atop each half of the mountain is a tree, while on the right half is a house that is crumbling. This cleft mountain does not fit into Ezekiel's

<sup>95</sup> Tallqvist, "Akkadische Götterepitheta" *Studia Orientalia*, vol. VII, pp. 391, 462.

vision in any way; thus it is necessary to explain it by external data. The author of the official preliminary report of the excavations at Dura-Europos tries to explain this feature:

The mountain in the scene I should be inclined to interpret as the "mountains of Israel" (Ezek. 6, 2 *et al.*); the city or temple tumbling down might represent the destruction of the "high places" and cities mentioned in this connection (Ezek. 6, 3-4) or the destruction of Jerusalem or the temple itself; the nude figures at the foot of the mountain may be the "dead carcasses of the children of Israel" (6,5) or the "slain" who have fallen in the midst of the mountain.<sup>96</sup>

Rachel Wischnitzer<sup>97</sup> explains the mountain by the vague reference to "the prophecy that the mountain will disappear in messianic times" (see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, IV, 234). According to Kraeling<sup>98</sup> the cleft and the house are meant to suggest the earthquake of Ezek. 37.7. Clearly, of these suggestions Kraeling's is the most satisfactory. Nevertheless, the cleft does not yet seem to have been completely explained. Such a phenomenon must remind us of Zech. 14.4, the only clear occurrence of the cleft motif in the Bible. It seems that the artist has combined the split in the mountain from Zechariah with the resurrection from Ezekiel. This is the logical combination, for if there was a popular reminiscence that the Mount of Olives was sacred to the god of the dead and of the underworld, it could be assumed to contain an entrance to the realm of the dead. The deep crevasse, which is enigmatic in Zechariah, has a real meaning in the mural, for here it is the exit from the nether world for the dead.

The combination of motifs found in the Dura mural is probably not unique, for in a Christian miniature of the ninth century there seems to be the same resurrection scene from Ezekiel combined with the cleft in the mountain.<sup>99</sup> Figure 2 shows that, while the details are

<sup>96</sup> M. I. Rostovtzeff, *et al.*, *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of the Sixth Season of Work*, October 1932-March 1933, p. 357.

<sup>97</sup> Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "The Conception of the Resurrection in the Ezekiel Panel of the Dura Synagogue," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. LX (1941), p. 43.

<sup>98</sup> Emil C. Kraeling, "The Meaning of the Ezekiel Panel in the Synagogue at Dura," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, vol. 78 (April, 1940), p. 13.

<sup>99</sup> Jacob Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art* (Schweich Lectures, 1939), pp. 46, 50, notes some of the similarities of the Dura Ezekiel mural with the miniature of Gregory Nazianzenus (now in the Bibliotheque Nationale; cf. Leveen, Pl. XV, 2). — I owe the knowledge of this miniature to the kindness of Joseph Gutmann, who drew my attention to its similarity to the Dura mural.

somewhat obscure, the bones of the dead are protruding from the cleft.

A figure similar to these is found in Tablet XII of the Gilgamesh Epic, when Nergal opens a hole in the earth for the spirit of Enkidu to emerge forth to talk with Gilgamesh. The author of Zechariah 14 probably had some idea of resurrection in mind; this his readers would understand although it was not set forth explicitly. That the resurrection was associated with the Mount of Olives is confirmed by some further elements of tradition. Ginzberg<sup>100</sup> cites what he considers the incomplete text of Ma'aseh Daniel, 128, where it is stated that the Messiah will ascend the Mount of Olives with Elijah and Zerubbabel, whereupon Elijah, at the bidding of the Messiah, will blow the trumpet. Though the text is incomplete, the intent is obvious. The blowing of the trumpet is a very frequent apocalyptic element which signifies the calling forth of the dead for the resurrection (I Cor. 15.52; I Thess. 4.16; Isa. 27.13; Ber. 13b; Tar. Jer. to Ex. 20.15; II Esd. 4.23, *et al.*). Now the raising of the dead can find no more logical place than through an opening at the ancient sanctuary of the god of death. Jewish tradition, on occasion, would insist that the resurrection could take place only at some place in the land of Palestine. Those who are to be raised from outside the land must be rolled through subterranean tunnels to the land, and there be raised (Pesikta Rab. referring to Ezek. 37.13; Ket. 111a). This insistence upon the special position of the land in the resurrection is a logical carry-over from the ancient tradition of the death sanctuary in the land.

The motif of the **כבוד יהוה**, which withdrew to the Mount of Olives according to Ezek. 11.23, occurs also in rabbinic literature (Mid. Rab. Lam. Proem 25). The rabbis felt that the Shekinah (this term is substituted for **כבוד יהוה** of Ezekiel) was very sad about the withdrawal and was urging the people to repent. However, this is probably not the intent of the prophet. He probably means to say that the patron deity abandoned the city to the god of destruction. By withdrawing his presence and protection from the city, Yahweh permitted his city to suffer violent devastation. Indeed his standing upon the mountain must mean that he permits the death-god a free hand. Perhaps even Yahweh is commanding Nergal to go and destroy what is before him. The similarities between this event and the Irra myth are considerable, for in both cases the protecting deity leaves his city to the care of Nergal and in each the metropolis falls victim to destruction.

<sup>100</sup> Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. VI, p. 438.



The Mount of Olives figures prominently in the career of Jesus, and almost every event recalls the ancient worship at this site. The most significant occurrence is the withdrawal on the night of his arrest. After a meal on the first evening of Passover,<sup>101</sup> he went out to the Mount of Olives to wrestle with the grisly problem before him — to be a martyr or to escape (Mk. 14.26). At a place called Gethsemane, he sought his answer while his disciples remained apart in two groups (Mk. 14.32 ff.). After an agonizing struggle he became reconciled to death and from this time on accepted the end without swerving. We cannot keep from feeling that no more suitable place could have been chosen than the sanctuary of the god of the dead for his final commitment to death. If Nergal entered the tradition under the title *המשחית* (the agent of death at the exodus), it should be remembered that the night of Jesus' withdrawal to the mountain was celebrated as the anniversary of the passing of the death-angel in Egypt. Perhaps in this night more than in any other, the presence of the underworld god could be experienced on the mountain.

In Luke's account of the triumphal entry, there is an incident peculiar to the gospel (19.41-44). As Jesus reaches the crest of the mount of Olives, he pauses and proclaims:

Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace! But now they are hid from your eyes. For the days shall come upon you, when your enemies will cast up a bank about you and surround you, and hem you in on every side, and dash you to the ground, you and your children within you, and they will not leave one stone upon another in you; because you did not know the time of your visitation (Luke 19.42-44 RSV).

Very similar is the event of Mark 13, which Matthew and Luke copy with variations. This chapter is highly complex and difficult, but in its present form it opens with a pronouncement story that concludes with the proclaiming of the doom of the temple. Then very deliberately Jesus withdraws to the Mount of Olives and gives a long discourse. The confusion of the speech is remarkable, but among other things Jesus pronounces the final absolute doom of Jerusalem and of the world. Since the agent of destruction for Jerusalem was war, he was, in a sense, devoting the city to the god of war. All that he saw was displeasing, so he dedicated all to the powers of destruction, violence, war, and death. The powers of annihilation were invoked to come and make an end to everything that was worthy only of

<sup>101</sup> According to the Synoptic tradition, Jesus ate a passover meal with his disciples, but according to John he was crucified before the beginning of Passover.



death. — Jesus' actions in these cases were entirely too deliberate to be chance. The doom of the city might have been proclaimed anywhere, but the most appropriate place was the sanctuary of the god of doom, and to this he retired for his assertion.

One of the most frequent interpretations of the work of Christ in the NT is in terms of the death motif (see, e. g., Romans 5, I Cor. 15, Heb. 2, *et al.*). According to this view man was under the control of death, living in fear of death, and without hope, until Christ through dying conquered death and gained a victory for all mankind. The most striking passages dealing with this theme are Hebrews 2.14 f. and I Peter 3.18–20, both of which have been dealt with previously. The former asserts that he tasted death so that he might destroy him who has the power of death and thereby deliver all who lived in fear of death; the latter tells of Christ who, while dead, went in the spirit to preach to the spirits in prison who were disobedient in the days of Noah. The terminology here is the kind that we could expect since Jesus voluntarily chose the death-myth as the background for his martyrdom. By some stratagem he dedicated himself to the death-god, descended into his realm, by some means defeated him in his own domain, and ascended from the depths of the earth as victor. The final declaration of his achievement was in his ascending into heaven from Olivet, the old death sanctuary. Matthew records that at the time of the death of Jesus many saints were bodily raised and that they came forth from the tombs after his resurrection to appear to many in the city (27.31 ff.). This again reflects the idea of the defeat of the powers of death through the death of Jesus. This resurrection of the saints at the time of the resurrection of Jesus is represented in a Byzantine fresco in the Mosque of Ka'riye at Istanbul.<sup>102</sup> Prior to the Moslem period this sanctuary was the Church of the Blessed Saviour of Chora. Dating from the Palaeologan Dynasty (i. e. the period between the time the Crusaders were driven out of Constantinople and the capture of the city by the Turks), the fresco shows the resurrection, with Jesus in flowing white robes, raising Adam and Eve from the dead. These three central figures are surrounded by a number of persons, whose meaning is not clear. We cannot but be impressed with the interest of the church in the motif of the raising of the dead at the resurrection of Jesus. Nor can we fail to notice the similarity of this concept to that of the raising of the dead with Inanna, when she ascended from the lower world. — Our only conclusion from this very frequent NT

<sup>102</sup> J. O. Haff, "Great Art Lines Mosque's Walls," *New York Times*, Sat., July 28, 1956, p. 19.

concept is that primitive Christianity adopted motifs from the Nergal mythology and adapted these to its usage. The precedent for such thinking was the OT and Jesus himself, both of which use the myths of the underworld god for their own purposes.

As was pointed out above, pp. 147 f., the devil took on certain characteristics of Nergal in early Christianity. Notably a few passages mention him as the god of death and the dead. One other feature should here be indicated. As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, Nergal is called "a lion, clothed with terror" and is probably to be connected with certain lion colossi. In I Peter 5.8 we read:

Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking some one to devour (RSV).

This description cannot but remind us of the Nergal terminology.

Since I Peter twice (3.18 ff.; 5.8) considers the devil in terms similar to Nergal, this may reflect on the question of origin. In 5.13 we have a reference to Babylon in such a way that we think that the letter was written from this city. Now it is frequently argued that Babylon at this time was a town of no consequence and thus the name must mean Rome, for Revelation uses the name "Babylon" to refer to the eternal city (16.19; 17.5; 18.3). Since the letter twice reflects Nergal terminology, it is possible the reference to Babylon, where the author contacted afresh remnants of the old Nergal-cult and identified this deity with the devil, may be given serious consideration.

Josephus records that, among robbers and imposters in the land in the time of procurator Felix during the reign of Nero, was a certain Egyptian who claimed to be a prophet and rallied about himself 30,000 men for an attack on the city from the Mount of Olives (*BJ* II. XIII 5). This man urged the common people to go with him to the Mount of Olives, where he promised that at his command the walls of Jerusalem would fall (*Ant.* XX.VIII 6). Obviously the details that Josephus gives in the two accounts differ, but it can be taken for certain that the prophet involved here had one intent in mind: he would invoke the god of war who inhabited the mountain to wreak his destruction upon the city. At the same time the army would consecrate itself to the deity and would devote their victims to the war-god. The same purpose may have been in the mind of the Romans, when they chose to make their major camp on the Mount of Olives during the siege of the city (*B. J.*, V. II 3). — It should be immediately obvious that the prophet mentioned by Josephus did exactly what Jesus did when he deliberately withdrew to Olivet to pronounce the doom of the city.

Certain other data pertaining to the Mount of Olives are preserved by tradition but these do not so obviously reflect the mythology of Nergal. Among the many rites of purification detailed in the Mishnah, that of the red heifer may be related to Nergal. It was required that the heifer be burned to ashes on the Mount of Olives (Parah 3:6-11). The OT law requires simply that the burning take place "outside the camp" (Num. 19:3) without exact specification of the place. It is stated that all who are involved in the rite become unclean (Parah 4:4), though the ashes mixed with water were for purification (Num. 19:11 ff.). It is possible that the whole performance was related to Nergal. It may have been the concept that the sins of the people were committed to the heifer, which then was burned as a sacrifice to the god of death. The sins were thus borne away to the realm of the dead and were gone forever. If this is the original meaning of the rite, then the Jewish law-givers adopted into Judaism a practice not originating in the cult of Yahweh and sought to give it an orthodox meaning. Such a move could have occurred to placate the worshippers of Nergal, who stubbornly clung to the old worship on the Mount of Olives.

In Rosh Ha-shanah 2, we read of a practice that finds no place in the Bible — the lighting of fires on the hill-tops to declare that the new moon has been observed. The first of these signal-fires was kindled on the Mount of Olives and then on heights all about the land (R. H. 2:4). This practice had to be discontinued because of the deeds of the Samaritans who apparently kindled fires at the wrong times (R. H. 2:2). Since Nergal was a fire-god, it may have been that these fire-rites were originally related to him; but if so, their original meaning is not clear.

The author of the Testament of Naphtali 5 claims to have had a vision on the Mount of Olives. This vision has basically astral symbols in it, but the meaning given to these symbols has no real value here. Olivet was undoubtedly a place for the receiving of revelations from Nergal from ancient times. It is not surprising then to find a person claiming to receive a stellar revelation on that hill.<sup>103</sup>

One idea that is completely worthless from the point of view of our problem is that the dove returning to Noah brought the olive branch from the Mount of Olives (PRE 23; BR 33.; *et al.* See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, I, 164; V, 185 f.). This certainly has nothing to do with the ancient Nergal cult; it only vindicates the rabbinic idea that Canaan was spared the devastation of the flood.

<sup>103</sup> See H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 331 f., 358, for information regarding revelations at sacred places, especially those sacred to star deities.

Krauss<sup>104</sup>, in a pair of articles, shows that the Jews as late as the Arabic period regarded the Mount of Olives as the most sacred place in the entire land. The material he cites is not related to Nergal, but the sacredness of the place indicates the stubborn persistence of sanctity in a holy place long after the original deity and his cult were forgotten.

<sup>104</sup> Samuel Krauss, "Der Ölberg in jüdischen Ritus," *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, vol. 22 (1919), pp. 38-52; and "הר הזיתים בחולדות ישו", *ציין*, New Series, Fourth Year, vol. II (Jan. 1939), pp. 170-176.

FIGURE 1A

SYNAGOGUE DE DOURA

PLANCHE XLII

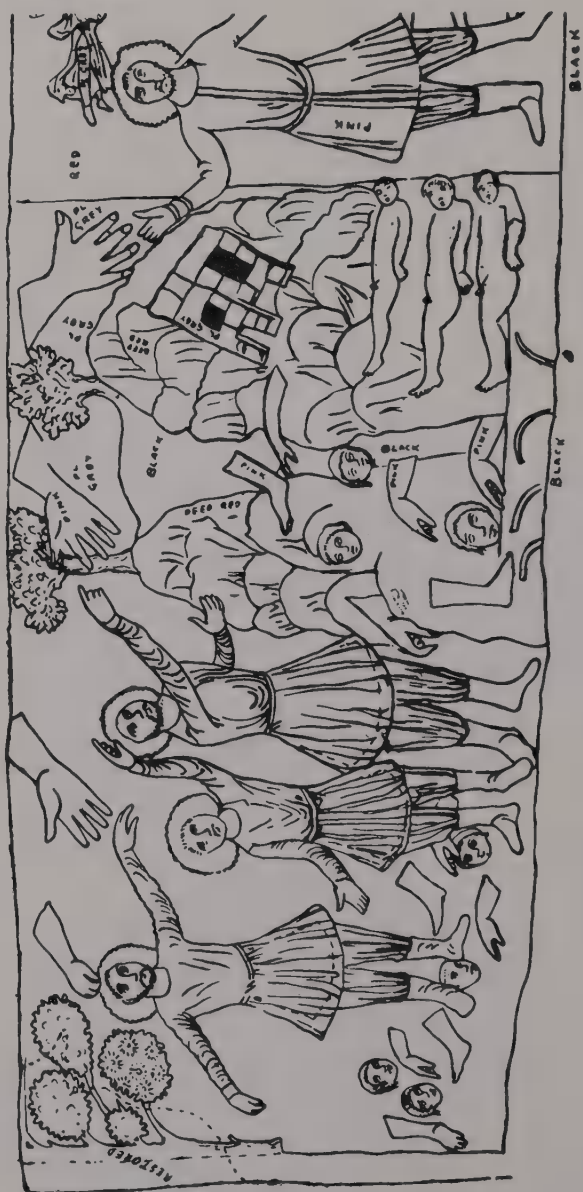


FIGURE 1B

SYNAGOGUE DE DOURA

PLANCHE XLIII



*La prophétie d'Ézechiel (n° 20), d'après un calque direct pris en 1936. Les morts rappelés à la vie.*



FIGURE 2



2. Vision of Ezekiel, Gregory Nazianzenus, Gr. 510. Bibliothèque Nationale (cf. Plate XIV)

## THE SACRED DIRECTION IN SYNAGOGUE AND CHURCH

FRANZ LANDSBERGER

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

"SACRED direction" is a term better suited to our present inquiry than "orientation." Etymologically "orientation" signifies a turning toward the east, while we are now concerned not only with the east but also with the west, the north, and the south.

It is striking that the position taken in prayer and in the layout of sacred structures has not been left to chance but has been determined by the prevailing religious outlook. This has repeatedly excited study. But inquiries along this line have dealt with synagogues or dealt with churches. Such specialization has produced fruitful results which I, though occasionally dissenting, have gratefully utilized. Yet, of special moment is the evidence that the sacred directions of the synagogue and that of the church belong together and can be understood only in combination. I hope to show that the sacred direction of the church grew from that of the synagogue partly by way of agreement and partly by way of protest. An influence greater than hitherto realized has been exerted upon the church by the synagogue in particular and by Jewish thinking in general.

\* \* \* \*

It is well known that, to a large extent, a sacred direction attached to the temples of the heathen. Here the sacred direction was related not to the worshiper but to the deity which had the temple as its abode. The direction was rendered sacred by the deity's looking through the portal, presumably toward the sun.

In all likelihood, a similar plan attached to the Temple of Solomon. The portal of the Temple lay toward the east (Ezek. 43.1-4). Obviously this direction had no relation to the worshiper. The arrangement served, in all probability, to let the sun, at a certain early hour on certain sacred days, penetrate into the Temple and shine upon the ark of the covenant there deposited. Upon this ark, opposite the sun and illumined by its rays, Jahweh sat, perhaps invisibly, enthroned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The deeper penetration into this question lies outside the scope of the present

With the synagogue it was otherwise. The synagogue was not a dwelling of the Deity. It was a community house. Its chief function was to serve as a place of prayer for a large assembly of people. If the sacred direction of the Temple might be called theogenous, that of the synagogue, by pointing a way for the worshiper, should be called anthropogenous.

In the polytheistic religions, there were various temples in which sacrifices were offered to various gods. The Jews also had, in addition to the Temple, numerous open air places of burnt offering. Later, in accordance with the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. 12.5 ff.), the Solomonic Temple became the one and only location at which the offering of sacrifices was legitimate. For the worshiper who lived at a distance from the Temple, the only means of fulfilling his religious obligations was prayer. The worshiper was instructed that, when reciting the prayer, he should face in the direction of the Temple or of the city which held the Temple.<sup>2</sup> From the Book of Daniel (6.11) we learn how this was done by the individual. Daniel ascended to the upper story of his house and prayed through the open window in the direction of the holy city. Between the worshiper and that city, there was to be no obstruction, not even that of a closed window. Everything was to be open and unimpeded.

Did this usage apply to the prayers of the community? The view has been expressed that the oldest synagogues dispense with a holy direction.<sup>3</sup> Though the protagonist of this theory does not mention his source, his source is easy to find. It is Baba Batra 25a in the Babylonian Talmud. Proof is adduced from the fact that Rabbi Oshaia and Rabbi Ishmael pronounced a prayer direction superfluous, inasmuch as the Shekinah, the Divine was everywhere.

We must, however, bear in mind the age in which that utterance was delivered, namely, the second and third centuries of our era. In those days, the Temple lay in ruins. To many this signified that Jerusalem had been forsaken by the Divine. In times like that, people may have derived comfort from the thought that the Shekinah is omnipresent and that, as a place where the Shekinah can manifest itself, the Temple was superfluous. But, at that period, the synagogue

study. This profounder grasp is supplied by the articles of Julian Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," *HUCA*, VI, 1929, pp. 1 ff. and "The Book of the Covenant," *HUCA*, V, 1928, pp. 45 ff. Cf. also F. J. Hollis, "The Sun Cult and the Temple at Jerusalem," in the collection, *Myth and Ritual*, edited by S. H. Hooke, Oxford 1933, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Something of a parallel was the practice by which the Roman, when away from Rome, would look, during prayer, toward the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Cf. Livy, *History of Rome*, VI, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 261, note 29.

was already a number of centuries old. Its first authentic dating goes back to the third century before our era.<sup>4</sup> Nothing prevents our assuming that, in it, as in the case of Daniel, prayer was directed toward Jerusalem and that the edifice was so constructed as to facilitate that way of facing.

Even after the Temple was destroyed, once the first shock was over, the view may have gained acceptance that soon the Messiah would come and restore the Temple in fresh splendor. Why interrupt a practice which was so soon to be resumed?

If we may infer backward from Galilean synagogues of the second and third Christian centuries — these being the oldest which have survived at least in ruins — the synagogue had already recognized a prayer direction resembling that of Daniel in his chamber, namely, through open spaces between the worshiper and Jerusalem. This could be achieved by means of windows. When R. Hiyya bar Abba (second century of our era) states twice that it is forbidden to pray in any house or any enclosure devoid of windows (Ber. 31a, 34b), he surely refers not merely to private homes but to synagogues as well.

For this purpose it was, of course, more efficient to use the bigger doorways, sometimes combined with a semicircular window as in our illustration.



WINDOWS AND DOORWAYS OF THE SYNAGOGUE IN KEFAR BIRIM, GALILEE.

When, as often happened, two smaller portals, corresponding to the aisles, were placed one on either side of the large middle portal, the gaze could range toward Jerusalem through these smaller portals likewise. I stress this because, for those three portals, there has been proposed a different explanation.<sup>5</sup> Attention has been called to the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Leo Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens in ptolemäischer und römischer Zeit*, Vienna, 1929, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L. Ross, "Archaeologische Bemerkungen zu einer Stelle des Jacobusbriefes," in *Palaestinajahrbuch des evangelischen Instituts fuer Altertumswissenschaft des hl. Landes*, Jerusalem XXI, 1933, pp. 53 ff.

fact that, inasmuch as there did not yet exist a permanent repository for the Torah — about which we shall speak later — the rule prevailed that the congregation should not withdraw from the synagogue until the scrolls of the Law had been removed (Sot. 39b). The theory assumes that this removal occurred through the main portal. Later, when the Torah obtained a fixed place in the synagogue, that portal was, according to this theory, permanently closed just as, according to Ezekiel (44.1-3), an outer gate of the Temple had to be closed because, through that gate, God had made His entry. It is inferred that, alongside of the closed portal, there had to be other portals for entrance.

This explanation is utterly far-fetched. Ours is the explanation with the greater warrant, namely, that the side portals, in addition to imparting esthetic charm, helped to widen the scope of the look toward Jerusalem.

With identical purpose the Tosefta (Meg. IV, 23) may have recommended placing the synagogue at the highest point in the city. The higher the synagogue stood, the more readily could the look toward Jerusalem be effected.

The objection might be raised that this direction of looking would oblige the worshiper, immediately upon entering the synagogue, to turn completely around. Yet, at the time when the earliest synagogues still preserved were built, the people in general used not Hebrew but Aramaic; with the consequence that the public prayers were spoken only by the reader, while the congregation rendered nothing but brief responses. It was the reader who faced Jerusalem as he stepped before the assembly.<sup>6</sup>

Difficulties arose from the fact that the synagogue was not only a place of prayer but also a place for the public reading of the sacred books. In those days the readings used a number of scrolls which, brought into the synagogue in a container, were taken out of the synagogue when the service was over. The Tosefta (Meg. IV, 21) states: "When the chest (תיבה) is set down, it has to stand with its front toward the people and its back toward the קורש." That word has been translated "synagogue" and has been referred to the fast-day ritual during which the ark would stand outside of the synagogue in an open place.<sup>7</sup> But that explanation is unconvincing, because the Tosefta plainly has in mind the every-day use of the chest and not just the rarely occurring ritual for the fast-days. The place, moreover, in which, on fast-days, the scroll-container rested was probably where the

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Louis Ginzberg, *Palestinian Talmud*, New York, 1941, Introduction, p. LXX.

<sup>7</sup> Thus S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin-Vienna, 1922, p. 324.

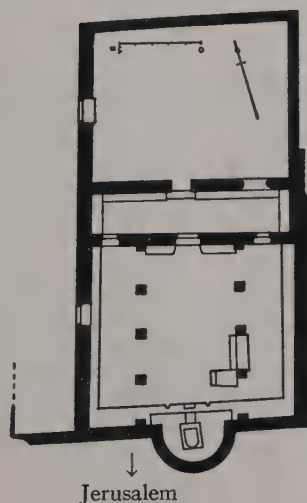


ancient city had places of that kind, not in front of the synagogue but at the city gates. More apt is it to translate קודש "sanctuary," that is, in our present instance, the Temple at Jerusalem. The Tosefta requires that the chest which contained the scrolls of Scripture should be inside of the synagogue, but that it should have its back in the direction of the Temple. That is to say, in ancient times, the chest may have stood at the synagogue entrance.

That position entailed the difficulty that the worshiper, upon entering the synagogue, would have his back toward the scrolls and would thus be desecrating the exaltedness of the Torah. At the same time if, in order to avert that impropriety, the Torah chest were placed against the wall opposite the entrance, there would ensue a violation of the Tosefta's requirement that the rear side of the chest stand toward Jerusalem.

There was a way out of this dilemma. The sacred direction was withdrawn from the portal and imparted to the wall farthest away from the portal. By placing the movable chest, and later the permanent ark of the Torah, at the wall farthest away from the entrance, anyone entering the synagogue looked toward Jerusalem and, at the same time, accorded the Holy Law its due exaltation. It was then not only the reader that spoke the public prayers but also the congregation, and Jerusalem would be faced by both.

In Palestine, this transfer of the sacred direction from the entrance to the opposite wall is reflected in architectural remains not earlier than the fifth or sixth centuries of our era. It shows, for instance, in the synagogues at Naaran near Jericho, at Hammath by Tiberias, and at Beth Alpha (see our illustration). In the Orient, this transfer

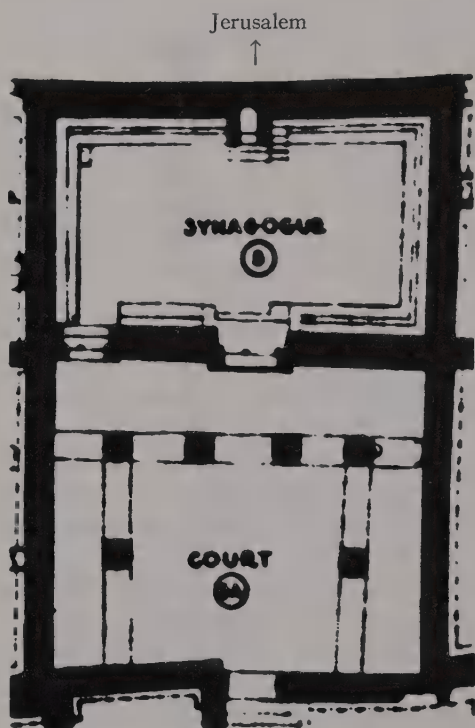


GROUND PLAN OF THE SYNAGOGUE IN

BETH ALPHA, PALESTINE.



occurred earlier. It becomes discernible in the middle of the third century at the synagogue of Dura Europos on the Euphrates (see our illustration). This synagogue was a broadside entered from the east.

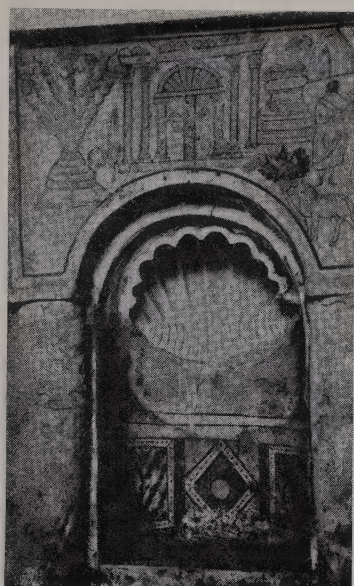


GROUND PLAN OF THE  
SYNAGOGUE IN DURA  
EUROPOS.

At a rebuilding of this synagogue<sup>8</sup> there was erected a niche in the wall opposite the entrance, facing Jerusalem. This niche was too small to have served as a permanent repository of scrolls. The decorations on this niche likewise indicate that there were no furnishings by which those decorations were covered. In brief, during the religious service, there must have stood, in the niche, a low chest filled with rolls of Scripture.

<sup>8</sup> Julius Obermann, "Inscribed Tiles from the Synagogue of Dura" in the periodical *Berytus*, VII, 1942, pp. 89 ff., dates the first erection of the edifice at 244/245, and the rebuilding at 255/256. Yet it seems to me unlikely that a rebuilding should have occurred not more than ten years after the first construction. Carl Kraeling, *The Synagogue of Dura Europos*, New Haven, 1956, shares my view. Kraeling (p. 329, note 41) regards the reconstruction as completed in the year 244/245, the first construction falling "probably after A. D. 150."

A striking feature of the niche is the way in which it indicates the direction of Jerusalem, thus making the wall "holy." This elucidates a representation, here illustrated, which the niche carries on its brow.



NICHE FOR THE CONTAINER OF THE TORAH  
SCROLLS IN THE SYNAGOGUE  
OF DURA EUROPOS.

Notice the picture of the Jerusalem Temple  
on the brow of the niche.

There is pictured the Temple in the Hellenistic architecture of the Temple rebuilt by Herod. Inevitably the gaze of the worshiper is guided toward the holy city.

The synagogue of Dura Europos was assuredly not the only synagogue in this area. We may therefore venture the conclusion, that, as early as the third Christian century, there existed a second indication of the holy direction; the direction formerly indicated by the portal got to be indicated by the opposite wall.

Such, furthermore, is to be inferred from the synagogue of Dura Europos; it was not the Torah-ark, fixed and permanent, that altered the sacred direction, as used to be supposed prior to the Dura Europos excavation.<sup>9</sup> The sacred direction, as proved by the reasons just given,

<sup>9</sup> This was the assumption of Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 36 ff. Kohl-Watzinger took certain stone fragments of the synagogue at Capernaum and assembled them into a Torah-ark. Such an ark, they assumed, would have impeded entrance into the edifice. E. L. Sukenik in his article, "The Present State of Ancient Synagogue Studies," Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Museum of Jewish Antiquities, *Bulletin* I, Jerusalem, 1949, pp. 18 f. has demonstrated that those fragments belonged rather to an elaborate double window in the façade.

had already changed when the ark was still portable, but when its place was already in a niche.

In the days of the portable Torah-chest, such niches may have belonged to many synagogues. That would explain how these niches got to be adopted by Islam in the form of the Mihrab. These, though empty, served to direct the look of the mosque-visiting pious toward Mecca, their holy city.<sup>10</sup>

When, at length, the permanent Torah repository made its appearance, it was surely out of this niche that there developed the apse, semicircular or angular, projecting beyond the wall.

Before we leave the subject of the ancient synagogue, we must consider yet another sentence from the Tosefta (Meg. IV, 22): "Synagogue gates should open toward the east as did the gates of the tent of meeting; for it is written: 'round about the tent of meeting . . . those that pitch on the east side toward the sunrising' " (Num. 2.2, 3). It has been supposed that this requirement, which is laid down nowhere else as in the Tosefta, refers to Babylonia exclusively.<sup>11</sup> And, indeed, synagogues of the later type in that country must have had their holy walls toward the west, toward Jerusalem, their portals consequently opening toward the east. But the hypothesis, limiting to Babylonia the requirement of an eastern entrance for synagogues, overlooks the fact that the Tosefta derives the requirement from the tent of meeting. It refers therefore not to special localities but to synagogues in general.

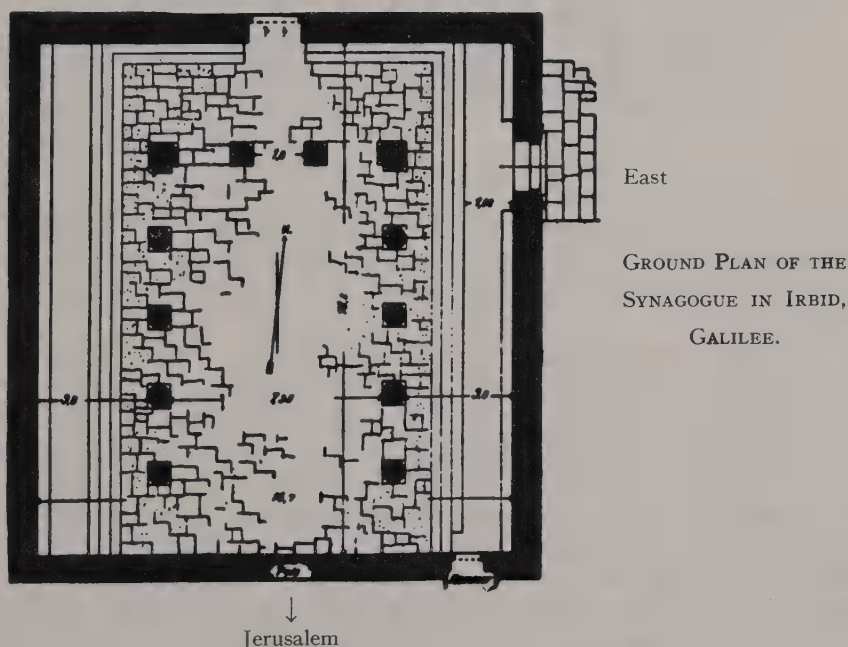
How did this requirement originate? Perhaps when the Second Temple lay in ruins, some hesitation may have arisen about regarding the Temple any longer as a focus of prayer. Attention may accordingly have been diverted to the older sanctuary, the tent of meeting. And this may have been chosen not to define any sacred direction but to serve as a model for synagogue building. The tent of meeting had an eastern entrance; so should the synagogue have eastern doors. This explanation, if correct, would give us a *terminus a quo* for the Tosefta passage. The passage must have originated in the year 70 of our era or soon thereafter.

Was the prescription of the Tosefta heeded? The question has been deliberately evaded by modern scholars, its solution entailing special difficulties. The Babylonian synagogues, even where preserved,

<sup>10</sup> I expounded this view in my *History of Jewish Art*, Cincinnati, 1946, p. 169 f. This view is now espoused also by Elie Lambert, "La Synagogue de Doura-Europos et les Origines de la Mosquée," in *Semitica*, III, Paris, 1950, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. W. Bacher in Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, New York, 1903, p. 639.

furnish no clue to an answer. Jerusalem being west, the western position of the holy ark could have necessitated the eastern position of the portals. Similarly no proof can be adduced from the older synagogues west of Jerusalem, synagogues in Asia Minor, Greece, and the like. The portals of these synagogues could have opened east because Jerusalem, still the determinant of the holy direction, lay east. But how was it in Palestine itself? The synagogue of Irbid in Galilee attaches the holy direction to its portal, wherefore the portal should have faced south, Jerusalem being south. The entrance is nonetheless on the east (see illustration). Some scholars<sup>12</sup> propound, as reason

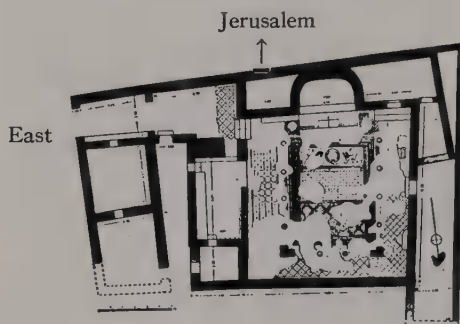


for this deviation, the circumstance that the south wall was backed against a declivity, leaving no space for an entrance on that side. But one could ask: "Why was not the synagogue so situated that a southern entrance would have been possible? Would not the direction toward Jerusalem have been an important religious concern?"

There is also the synagogue of Hamāth-by-Gadara in Transjordan, a late structure which has the holy direction in the wall opposite the entrance. That city also lies north of Jerusalem; the

<sup>12</sup> Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, p. 60 and Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, I, 1953, p. 199.

synagogue should therefore have had its entrance to the north and its Torah wall to the south. Nonetheless here likewise the entrance points east (see illustration). Once again the investigation has based its



GROUND PLAN OF THE SYNAGOGUE  
IN HAMATH-BY-GADARA,  
TRANSJORDANIA.

conclusion upon a feature of the building site: "Since the hall was built athwart the very narrow ridge of the hill and at its western end, there was no room for a forecourt or any annexes on any but its eastern side."<sup>13</sup>

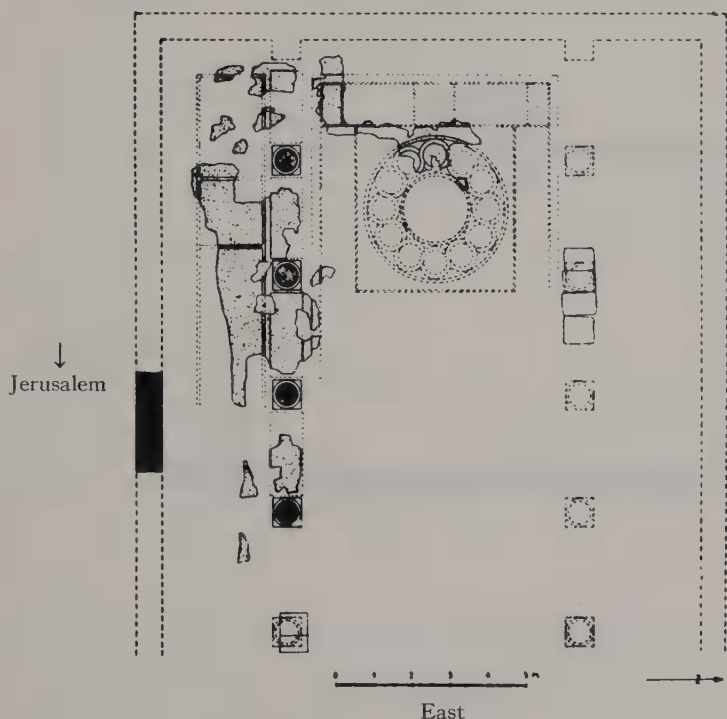
Different explanations are proffered for the synagogues of 'Esfia and of Khirbeth Semmaka at Mt. Carmel, in order to sustain the thesis that the Tosefta ruling had no influence upon their eastern portals. Both 'Esfia and Khirbeth Semmaka lie north of Jerusalem, and both have the sacred direction vested in their portals. If Jerusalem was the focus of prayer, these portals should have looked south. However, they look east. By way of explanation, Sukenik writes: "Both these synagogues are close to the Mediterranean, the western boundary of Palestine, and for this reason are oriented to the east."<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere this author expresses the view that the proximity of the sea gave the inhabitants of those regions the impression that they were west of Jerusalem and that their portals were on the east for that reason.<sup>15</sup> One might rejoin: Should the inhabitants of those two towns have remained so unclear about a matter which would have been so important to them as their direction from the holy city?

<sup>13</sup> Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh*, Jerusalem, 1935, p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> *Bulletin II of the Museum of Jewish Antiquities*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1951, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XV, 1935, p. 170, note 2.

Consider further what Sukenik says about the synagogue of Yafa in Galilee (see illustration). He discerns here a building of the earlier



TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GROUND PLAN OF THE SYNAGOGUE  
IN Yafa, GALILEE.

trend, a building which should accordingly have had a southern portal if Jerusalem gave the sacred direction. Yet again the portal is on the east. Sukenik reasons as follows: "Yafa is in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun, of whom it is written, Zebulun shall dwell at the shore of the sea" (Gen. 49.13).<sup>16</sup>

It has of late been surmised that the Yafa structure is not a longitudinal but a broadside synagogue, with the Torah repository not opposite the entrance but at the south wall, the south wall standing in the direction of Jerusalem.<sup>17</sup> Still, with the Torah wall at the south,

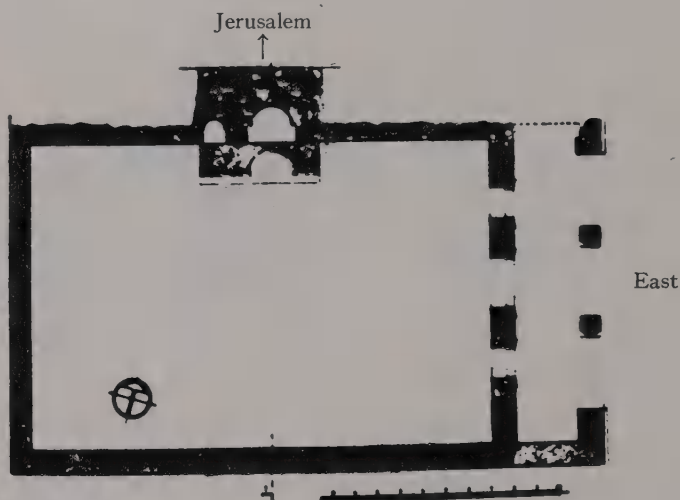
<sup>16</sup> *Bulletin II of the Museum of Jewish Antiquities*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1951, p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, I, 1953, p. 216



why was not the entrance at the north rather than at the east if Jerusalem marked the sacred direction?

Another synagogue of the broadhouse type (here illustrated) will



GROUND PLAN OF THE SYNAGOGUE IN ESHTEMOA, JUDEA.

furnish our last example, namely, the synagogue of Eshtemoa in Judea. For this synagogue, the holy direction is indicated by the niches, one of which obviously held the Torah. This niche points northward, toward Jerusalem. Yet the portal, instead of pointing southward, points eastward.

All of these considerations, taken together, make the conclusion inescapable that while, in one instance or another, the eastern entrance can be explained on various grounds unrelated to the entrance of the tent of meeting, those grounds do not apply to them all. I am persuaded that the requirement about looking toward Jerusalem was sometimes substituted for or at least accompanied by a later requirement which took as its model the tent of meeting and which therefore elected the east as the direction of the portals.

This conclusion obtains further validation from the fact that, in the Middle Ages, this Tosefta rule was not only quoted; it was also followed. We learn, for example, that in the countries of Islam, all synagogues have their entrance toward the east.<sup>18</sup> Maimonides<sup>19</sup> writes: "Synagogue entrances are placed toward the east because it is written: 'Round about the tent of meeting . . . those that pitch on the east side' (Num. 2.2, 3). Erected [in the synagogue] is an ark in which is

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Leopold Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, Szegedin, 1898, p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> *Mishneh Torah*, Book II, *Hilkot Tefillah*, XI, 2.

placed the Torah. This ark is situated according to the direction faced in prayer in the given city, so that the people look toward the ark while they stand in prayer." These sentences combine the Tosefta requirement about having the portals on the east and the older requirement that the Torah repository stands in the direction of Jerusalem. Anyone entering the synagogue would thus immediately have to turn in order to be facing the holy ark.

This may have been the point to the protest of Moses ben Meir of Ferrara, a Tosafist of the thirteenth century. In his comment on that passage from Maimonides, Moses ben Meir voices the view that the Tosefta requirement is not applicable in all cases. Moses ben Meir holds rather that the synagogue entrances be so placed that they stand opposite the Torah alcove even if the entrance has to lie westward rather than eastward.<sup>20</sup> This marks a return to the principles which imparted to the ancient synagogues their special beauty. Consider once more the synagogue of Beth Alpha on page 185. As one enters, one's glance ranges through the whole interior and rests only upon the holiest spot, the ark with the scrolls.

\* \* \* \* \*

After this digression into the Middle Ages, we come back to antiquity; not, however, to Jewish antiquity but to Christian antiquity. The churches took over from the synagogue their idea of a sacred direction, relating the direction not to the Deity but to the worshiper. In the *Didaskalia* (chap. 3), dating from the third century, it is stated that already the apostles desired an easterly direction for prayer. Still we may assume that the direction for the earliest Christian prayers was Jerusalem, Christianity and Judaism being, at that time, closely conjoined. In Jerusalem itself, the cradle of the new faith, since the greater part of the city lay west of the Temple, a worshiper looking east would be looking toward the Temple. In Judaeo-Christianity, that Temple direction for prayer may have persisted for a long time. This is indicated by the censure which Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in the second century, levels at the Ebionites: "They practice circumcision, they cling tenaciously to the commands of the Torah, they are, in their way of life, so affected by Judaism that they even revere Jerusalem as if the house of God were still there."<sup>21</sup>

Going somewhat their own way, though still adhering to Jerusalem,

<sup>20</sup> Again I quote from the *Gesammelte Schriften* of Leopold Loew, IV, p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, I, 26, 2. P.G. VII, 686 f.

were those who in prayer turned toward the mount of Olives with reference to Zechariah 14.4, "And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives." Those words were combined with those of Psalm 132.7, "Let us worship at His footstool."<sup>22</sup>

Though the destruction of the Temple constituted, for the Jews, a catastrophe, the pain was moderated by the thought of the coming Messiah who was to build the Temple anew. Nevertheless, as we noted, the thought made headway that the Temple as a prayer-focus should be abandoned and that there be substituted either the omnipresent Shekinah or some assimilation to the tent of meeting. For the Christians, by contrast, the destruction of the Temple was the ultimate proof that God had forsaken the Jews and had conferred all of His grace upon the "True Israel," the Christians. From this the conclusion followed that Jerusalem, as a direction of prayer, should be discontinued and a new direction chosen which would be the same wherever communities existed, such being in accord with the rapid spread of Christianity to various countries and, at the same time, symbolic of Christian unity. The east was the new direction chosen.

All of this must have occurred not long after the year 70. The Jewish sectarian, Elkasai, whose preaching took place about the year 100, urges his listeners to remain faithful to the direction of Jerusalem and not to pray toward the east — referring obviously to the prayer direction of the Christians.<sup>23</sup>

To the eastward prayer direction of the Christians, there has been imputed a heathen origin. The usage had supposedly been brought in by the Heathen-Christians, who had accepted the new faith without first becoming Jews.<sup>24</sup> The usual reference for this opinion is the Greek church father, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150-ca. 215):<sup>25</sup> "The oldest of the heathen temples looked toward the west so that those who stood with their faces toward the statues of the gods might be made to look toward the east." But, it seems to me, Clement does not base his remark on personal observation. He borrows from Vitruvius who, in his *Architectura* (IV, 5), uses words that are similar: "The holy temples

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, Book II, Chap. 8. P.G. VIII, 466. With Clement, the feet of the Messiah are the Apostles.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Brandt, *Elchasai, ein Religionsstifter und sein Werk*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 11 ff. Likewise F. J. Doelger, *Sol Salutis, Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum*, 2. edition, Muenster, 1925, p. 197.

<sup>24</sup> F. J. Doelger, *op. cit.*, p. 198. The heathen origin of the Christian prayer-direction toward the east is even more definitely affirmed by Cabrol and Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, article "Orientation," col. 2665: "Les païens leur en avaient donné l'exemple . . ."

<sup>25</sup> In *Stromata*, VII, 7, 43. P.G. IX, 462 f.

of the immortal gods have to be so built that, temple usages permitting and no obstacles interfering, the divine statue in the *cella* should appear to be looking westward, so that those approaching the altar with their offerings should direct their gaze toward the eastern heaven and, at the same time, toward the temple statue." Had Clement spoken from personal observation, he would have remarked that the oldest of the heathen temples had their portals toward the east so that, praying or sacrificing, the worshipers faced the west. It was the more recent temples of the Greeks and the temples of the Romans that carried out the arrangement by which the portal stood on the west, while those who prayed or sacrificed looked toward the east.<sup>26</sup> Thus the Heathen-Christians, when following the usages of their former temples, could face either west or east. Why did they choose the east?

The answer, as I see it, lies not in heathenism but in Judaism; not, to be sure, in any Jewish edifices, but in the sphere of Jewish thought as exemplified by the Bible. Though the Christians may, more and more, have scorned the Jews of that time, they were nonetheless committed to Biblical authority, especially since it was the Bible that had prophesied their Messiah.

It has, for a long time, been noticed what a role is played in these prophecies by references to the light of the sunrise:

The people that walked in darkness  
Have seen a great light;  
They that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death,  
Upon them hath the light shined.

These words of Isa. 9.1 were so intently applied to the Christ that they found their way into the Gospel of Matthew (4.16). Similarly associated with the east was the resurrection. Says the *Didaskalia* (chap. 12): "For we must pray toward the east inasmuch as it is written: 'Sing to God that rides on the heaven of heaven, eastward.' " Such was the Septuagint translation of Psalm 68.32, 33.

It were easy to multiply quotations, but those already instanced show sufficiently why Christian prayer was directed toward the east. It was because prayer led to the Savior.

As in Judaism, so in Christianity, the direction of prayer was also indicated by the building itself. How indicated? Some think of the Jewish Temple with its entrance on the east. This might have been copied by the Christian Church inasmuch as the Church deemed itself

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Heinrich Nissen, *Orientation, Studien zur Geschichte der Religion*, Berlin, 1906-1910, pp. 116, 249.

the Temple's successor.<sup>27</sup> But this view overlooks that, as regards directions, there existed, between Temple and Church, a basic difference. In the case of the Temple, the worshiper was on the outside. In the case of the church, the worshiper was on the inside.

It seems more logical to derive the manner of the Church not from that of the Temple but from that of the synagogue. As in the synagogue, so also in the church, the direction of prayer was first indicated by the portal which, in the synagogue, faced Jerusalem and, in the church, faced eastward.

If, in the early period of the Church, this usage fails to become evident, the reason lies in the fact that, at the inception of Christianity, worship was conducted in secret, that is to say, in private dwellings which, while admitting a direction for prayer, precluded a showing of the direction by the house structure. Now and then such private dwellings were transformed into churches, but there was still needed adaptation to that which existed already. Even when a new edifice was erected, particularly in crowded Rome, it was necessary to accept whatever site may have been available. The location of the building was therefore not always a matter of choice. Of the oldest Christian churches, moreover, the direction of the portal can no longer be determined, these churches having been destroyed during the fierce persecutions to which the Christians were subject.

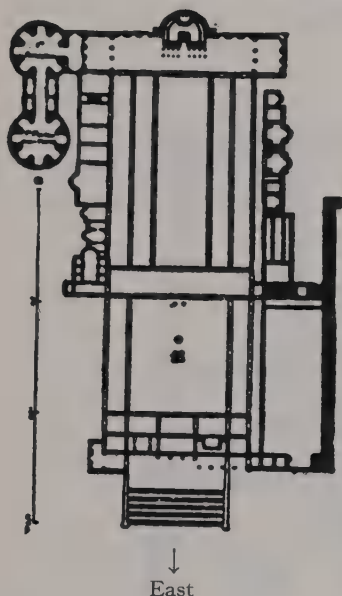
This renders especially gratifying a notice, at least, telling how the early church structures were placed. Our source is the church father Tertullian (before 160–after 220), active in Northern Africa. In a short disquisition, Tertullian assails the sect of the Valentinians because of their predilection for darkness and secrecy which he contrasts with the openness and the brightness of the church. He likens the church to a dove-cote. “*Nostrae columbae etiam domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. Amat figura, spiritus sancti Orientem, Christi figuram.*”<sup>28</sup> “*In editis*” refers to the location of the church in an elevated place. We noticed that same requirement for the synagogue. “*Ad lucem*” certainly means that the church turned toward the rising sun and that, as among the Jews, the portal reflected the sacred direction. The fact that the east is called “*Christi figura*” shows, once more, that the east stood for Christ.

It is not my intention to list all of the churches which, during the

<sup>27</sup> S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin-Vienna, 1922, p. 317.

<sup>28</sup> In his *Adversus Valentinianos*, chap. III (P.L. II, 580). Compare also F. J. Doelger, “Die Lage des christlichen Kultbaus nach Tertullian,” in *Antike und Christentum*, II, Muenster, 1930, pp. 41 ff.

subsequent centuries, had their portals in an easterly direction. Suffice it to mention the church of St. Peters (see our illustration) and the



GROUND PLAN OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF  
SAINT PETER'S IN ROME.

first of the churches of St. Paul in Rome, likewise San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Maria Maggiore.

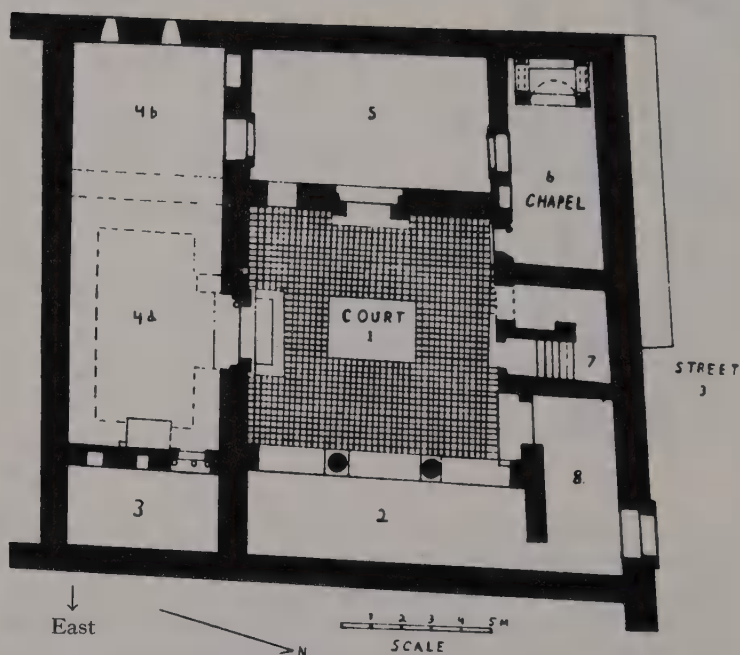
The portal toward the east appears likewise in the eastern part of the empire where, now and then, the eastern entrance would be stressed in order to win the favor of the emperor, Constantine. Constantine the Great was a friend of the Church but also a worshiper of the sun. The emperor's favorite, Eusebius, in his biography of Constantine (III,37), writes about the newly built Church of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem. "Three well distributed doors toward the rising sun admit the entering host."<sup>29</sup> These words aim obviously to bring out the kinship between the emperor's sun-worship and Christianity. In like vein, Eusebius, in his *Church History* (X.4,41) tells regarding the church of Bishop Paulus of Tyre, how it was "toward the rays of the rising sun" that the architect had erected the three portals.

When we discussed the synagogue, we noted that the portals did not always indicate the sacred direction. It is interesting to find a similar phenomenon in the Church. With the earliest known instance, this

<sup>29</sup> Notice the three portals taken over from the synagogue and their relation to the sacred direction.



change has not yet been fully achieved. The portal wall ceases to indicate the holy direction, but the wall opposite has not yet assumed that function. I refer to the church of Dura Europos erected in 232 shortly before the completion of the Dura Europos synagogue. Its ground plan, here illustrated, shows a group of buildings surrounding



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH-AREA IN DURA EUROPOS.

4d is the Ground Plan of the Actual Church Room.

a rectangular court. The largest of these buildings has been identified — no doubt correctly — as the actual church room. Its area is a longitudinal one entered from the north. The worshiper would, upon entering, turn toward the east. A stone elevation which stands on that eastern side was no doubt a *Bemah* from which would take place the reading of Sacred Scripture.

During religious services, a niche in the synagogue of Dura Europos held a chest. That was the portable Torah chest which became the fixed Torah repository in the course of further development.

With regard to such matters, how was it with the church? To judge from the example of Dura Europos, the church held no niche. Nor did there develop in Christianity an immovable ark, at least no ark that

stood in the area of prayer.<sup>30</sup> But the ritual of the Eucharist did necessitate the use of a table (*mensa*) which may, at Dura Europos, have been of wood and therefore not capable of preservation. This table, having been at first portable, can be compared to the portable chest of the Torah.

At first the location of this table varied.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, as in the church at Antiochia, it stood toward the west.<sup>32</sup> While the east symbolized life, the west symbolized death and, of death, there was, in the Eucharist, an intimation.<sup>33</sup> Sometimes the middle of the church would be this table's place as in the church already mentioned, the Paulinus church at Tyre<sup>34</sup> and in the Menas sanctuary of Egypt.<sup>35</sup>

Eventually it became the custom to treat the table as if it were the altar in the Jewish Temple. The table came to be made of costly material and to have a permanent location far from the church's entrance. Not rarely would that altar be reared over the grave of a martyr, or it would become equipped with some martyr's relics. It would be supplied with a crucifix, and toward the crucified Savior, no back was ever turned.<sup>36</sup> All of which imbued the altar with an ever increasing sanctity.<sup>37</sup>

The consequence was a dilemma like that which confronted the Jews when the Torah, in its chest and later in its permanent ark, had become an object of adoration. If, in the course of prayer, one looked eastward toward the rising sun, one failed in the reverence due the altar. If, however, one's look was directed toward the altar, one would be delaying obeisance to the sun, the symbol of the Savior.

The solution consisted in abandoning the use of the portal as the sign of direction and making the wall opposite the portal the wall to the east. The altar was placed in front of this wall. Immediately behind

<sup>30</sup> A cupboard for the four Gospels in book form can be seen on a mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna. Cf. Kurt Galling, "Ein Christlicher Torahschrein," in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* XII, 1932, p. 47. But such a cupboard stood undoubtedly in a side-room of the church.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, I, Munich, 1924, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *The Church History* of Socrates, I, 5, chap. 22.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. L. Voelkel, "Orientierung Weltbild der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XXV, 1949, p. 167.

<sup>34</sup> Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, 4, 44.

<sup>35</sup> Carl Maria Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archaeologie*, 2d edition, Paderborn, 1913, p. 197 f.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. E. Peterson, "La croce e la preghiera," in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, LIX, 1945, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. F. J. Doelger, "Die Heiligkeit des Altars und ihre Begründung im christlichen Altertum," in *Antike und Christentum*, II, Muenster, 1930, pp. 161 ff.

the altar were the seats for the elders and, in their midst, the cathedra of the bishop corresponding to the synagogal seat of the *archisynagogos*.

It has been surmised that a further reason for altering the sacred direction of the church lay in the fact that the apse, in front of which sat the bishop and the elders, had undergone change. At first this apse had no windows. Later windows were supplied. Whereupon "it seemed more appropriate to turn that end of the church toward the rising sun."<sup>38</sup> I cannot accept this interpretation. I am more inclined to think that these windows had the purpose of providing more light for the choir rather than that of serving for a look into the open.

Inasmuch as the church of Dura Europos is the earliest church preserved, though preserved only in ruins, and inasmuch as it is the first of the churches to separate the entrance side from the eastern direction, one could suppose that an eastern wall other than the portal wall may have been the original way and that it was only the sun-worship of Constantine which induced the architects of his day to open the doors toward the rising sun and that, after the emperor's death, there would have been a revival of the old custom which put the eastern wall far from the entrance wall.

The exponent of this view<sup>39</sup> has plainly overlooked that, as early as around the year 200, when Tertullian polemicized against the Valentinians, the churches known to Tertullian were built "toward the light."

It can, however, be shown that, in Christianity, the two tendencies existed, for a long time, side by side. The Western Church preferred, as indicator of direction, the portal; the Eastern Church preferred the wall opposite. In the *Didaskalia* which, originating in the third century, was the first of the Syrian church disciplines, the statement occurs in chapter 12: "Let a place be reserved for the Elders in the midst of the eastern part of the house and let the throne of the bishop be placed among them." Farther west the laymen and their wives shall find their seats, so that "when you stand to pray, the rulers stand first, afterwards the laymen and then the women also, for toward the east it is required that you shall pray." This can only signify that the bishop and the elders had their seats in front of an eastern wall while the congregation, entering from the west, remained in that part of the edifice. When it was time for prayer, the dignitaries would rise and turn around and thus stand foremost among those praying toward the east.

<sup>38</sup> Thus Walter Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, New York, 1947, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>39</sup> J. G. Davies, *The Origin and Development of Early Church Architecture*, London, 1952, pp. 81 ff.

How widespread that custom became in Syria can be gathered from the fact that a deviation which occurred in the fifth century provokes mention. About this time, Socrates says of a church in Antiochia, Syria: "Inversus est ecclesiae situs, neque enim altare ad solis ortum spectat, sed ad occasum."<sup>40</sup> This also proclaims the significant rôle which the altar had acquired as a sign of direction. Behind the altar stood the priest who, at that time, faced the congregation, as he administered the Eucharist.

Contrariwise, in the western part of the empire, to deviate from the portal-orientation was, as late as the fourth century, still looked upon as an exception. Thus Paulinus of Nola<sup>41</sup> observes regarding the church which he had founded at Nola in Italy: "Prospectus basilicae non, ut usitator mos est, Orientem spectat, sed ad domini mei beati Felicis basilicam pertinet, memoriam eius adspiciens."

Concerning the sacred direction in the churches of Italy, there has been a statistical inquiry. It has been established that the majority of these churches had eastern portals up to the year 420. Subsequent to 420, the situation changed, and more of the churches thereafter had an eastern choir.<sup>42</sup>

In Italy of the fifth century, what particularly commended departure from the portal-orientation was the fact that, among the populace, there still survived, from the days of the emperors, the heathen worship of the sun. Thus, early in the morning, after they had ascended the steps of St. Peter's, which still retained the portal orientation, many would turn around in order literally to render worship to the sun. To suppress this abuse there was required a prohibition by Pope Leo I (440-460).<sup>43</sup>

Probably connected with this was the new interpretation of facing eastward as something related not so much to the rising sun as to Paradise which, according to the Bible (Gen. 2.8), lay to the

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I, V, chap. 22.

<sup>41</sup> Epistola XXXII, Ad Severum, n. 13. The gradual penetration of the eastern scheme into the west is treated by Edmund Weigand, "Die Ostung in der fruehchristlichen Architektur," in the *Festschrift fuer Sebastian Merckle*, Duesseldorf, 1922

<sup>42</sup> Cf. O. Mothes, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien von der ersten Entwicklung bis zu ihrer hoechsten Bluete*, Jena, 1883, p. 151. This inquiry underlies the observation of S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertuemer*, p. 317: "Not sooner than 420 is the direction changed" (from door orientation to choir orientation). This of course is incorrect. Also in Italy the change began sooner. 420 was merely the year in which the majority of churches — when it was previously the minority — had put the choir at the eastern end.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Sermo 27 of *In Nativitate Domini*, 7.4. P.L. 54,218. The Pope refers to Job who could claim never to have gazed upon sun or moon (Job 31, 26 f.).

east of Eden. Thus Basilius of Caesarea, who lived in the fourth century, says in his *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* (27, n. 66 P. G. XXXII, 189 f.), "For this reason, all of us, during prayer, look toward the sunrise, because we seek there our ancient home, Paradise, which God planted in Eden toward the sunrise." Similar is the view of Gregory of Nyssa (second half of the fourth century): "If we turn toward the east, it is not in order to search for God — for He is everywhere — but because the orient was our first fatherland. It was our abode when we lived in Paradise whence we were ejected. God established Paradise toward the east."<sup>44</sup>

These words show a dwindling of the sentiment inherited from the Jews, the sentiment which identified the light with the Messiah. In its place steps the identification of the east with Paradise, an identification also based upon the Bible, the Biblical Paradise lying in the east. To direct the thoughts to this Paradise there is no longer required a portal. As a direction indicator, the rising sun was a visible object. Paradise, which lay in an inaccessible distance, was an ideal object, an object attainable only by spiritual means.

We have shown that the holy direction of the church, with the portals as indicators, was taken over from the synagogue. May the same be said of the other process, the transfer of direction-showing to the opposite wall? Among the synagogues of Palestine, the change occurred so late — not before the fifth century — as to generate the view that the synagogue was influenced by Christianity.<sup>45</sup> The Christian basilica displays the change as early as the fourth century. But, if we consider that the synagogue completed at Dura Europos in 244/245, exhibits the new scheme at its full, while it obtains but imperfectly in the church erected in 232, the view seems justified that here also the synagogue served the church as a model.

Let us venture not more than a mild surmise. In the third century, Judaism and Christianity were already so far separated that neither of the two religions would have leaned upon the other. The outcomes may have been the same, but the paths traversed were different. With the Jews, the salient factor was the portable Torah-chest in the niche and later the fixed Torah-ark. With the Christians, it was the altar. Both demanded reverence. But this conflicted with having the portal wall as the sacred wall, and that hastened the change. It were best to leave the question undecided and only to add that present-day synagogues,

<sup>44</sup> *De Oratione Dominica*, Oratio V, P.G. 44, 1184. Also Pseudo-Athanasius in his *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, 37, P.G. 28,619 f. expresses himself in like manner.

<sup>45</sup> Carl Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palaestinas*, II, Leipzig, 1935, p. 114.



of which the overwhelming majority are located west of Jerusalem, that is in Europe, in Africa, and in America are, like the churches, so placed that they lie from west to east.

Long ago in the Jewry of Europe the practice began of prescribing a direction for the prayers of the individual in his home. To prevent error, use was made of a tablet which hung on a wall and which carried, besides some decorations, large Hebrew inscriptions (see our illustration). It could be expected that the main inscription would read



Mizrah



Museum of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

Notice the Allusions to Ps. 113.3.

“Jerusalem.” Instead, it reads מִזְרַח, East. For the Jews, that word rang with special significance. It suggested verse 3 of Psalm 113:

From the rising (מִזְרַח) of the sun to the going down thereof  
The Lord's name is to be praised.<sup>46</sup>

In all events, that word מִזְרַח on the prayer tablet of the Jew brought him and the Christian worshiper nearer to one another. Instead of the Jew's believing in a relative direction for prayer which might vary from place to place, there was instilled the belief in an absolute direction, and that absolute direction, namely the east, was the same as it was for Christianity.

<sup>46</sup> To this verse from Psalm 113, my attention was graciously drawn by Prof. Jakob Petuchowski of Cincinnati.





# THE MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIAN HEBRAISTS OF ENGLAND

## *THE SUPERSCRIPTIO LINCOLNIENSIS*

RAPHAEL LOEWE, Cambridge, England

IN PREVIOUS studies I have dealt with the earliest traces of Hebrew scholarship in England, and have examined the achievements of scholars known to us up to the end of the 12th century.<sup>1</sup> The present article will be concerned with the literary remains of some unnamed Christian hebraists belonging to 13th century England. In view of the relatively large amount of material to consider within that century, I limit myself to a review of the so-called *Superscriptio Lincolniensis*, its putative models, and the intellectual climate in which it grew, leaving for another occasion the Hebrew studies of Roger Bacon and of scholars best considered together with him.

With the coming of the 13th century, the pioneering spirit in biblical studies was shifting from the Cloister to the schools. The impact of Aristotelian science as developed in Arabic, which, together with Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*, was becoming progressively more widely known in the Latin-speaking world, helped to effect a revolution in the attitude to the "letter" of Scripture.<sup>2</sup> In an atmosphere of thought which held that substance can be known through its sensible manifestations only, a distinction between "letter" and "spirit" ceased to be meaningful; and with St. Thomas Aquinas the position is reached that the literal sense of Scripture must cover the whole intention of the inspired writer, as against any divine purpose to which his message may have been put in history. For the disciples of St. Francis of Assisi, the mystical endeavor to share in the experience of Christ was pressed to a degree sufficiently advanced to make necessary an appreciation of the gospel narrative that was literal in the extreme. On the other hand, this reassessment of the value of literal (*i. e.* historical) exegesis must owe something to the fact that Theology was being promoted, at least in Paris, to the dignity of a discipline in

<sup>1</sup> For details of these articles, and other literature cited in footnotes, see the bibliography at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> For the scholastic background to 13th century biblical studies see chap. 6 ("The Friars") of Miss B. Smalley's *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 264 f., especially § III (pp. 292 f.), pp. 300, 284.

its own right, and was being finally emancipated from the formal limitations of the *quaestio* appended to biblical commentary. In Oxford there were, apparently, two opinions as to the merits of this categorization; for while there is evidence of specialization, Grosseteste in a letter to the Regent Masters identified Theology with Bible study; and by the third quarter of the 13th century Roger Bacon was wistfully, but not, perhaps, without exaggeration, lamenting the passing of a unified approach.

It seems not unreasonable to expect that this renewed interest in the literal and historical meaning of Scripture might be reflected in the biblical iconography of the period. The investigation of this question is a study in itself, and outside my own competence; here the suggestion can be but mooted, and a pair of examples referred to.<sup>3</sup> The conception of the Tree of Jesse, begins as an artistic *motif* in the late 11th century, and depicts literally the metaphor of Isa. 11.1.<sup>3a</sup> The other example illustrates, incidentally, the paradox that "literal" exegesis might include Jewish material which the Jews themselves would consider midrashic, *i. e.*, a legendary or other embellishment of the plain text; for the Church classed all Jewish exegesis as "literal," either failing to appreciate, or else choosing to ignore the Jews' own insistent differentiation between the *peshat* (*plain meaning*) and *derash* (*application*).<sup>3b</sup> Such a failure was more pardonable than might appear, since not infrequently Jewish legendary embroidery, or casuistic distinction, has been based upon the stressing of the literal significance of details in the biblical text that were clearly intended as figures of speech. A case in point is the Song of Lamech in Gen. 4.23-4, where there is a reference to Lamech's having slain a *man* and a *child* (A. V. *young man*). The parallelism of Hebrew poetry suggests that both words are intended to refer to the same victim; but by interpreting literally, and assuming that the *man* and the *child* are distinct persons, Jewish exegesis has filled in details concerning the death of Cain

<sup>3</sup> A further example is considered by M. Schapiro, "The Angel with the Ram in Abraham's Sacrifice: a Parallel in Western and Islamic Art," *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943), pp. 134 f.

<sup>3a</sup> See. A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (1934), p. 83 and Appendix III p. [162]. The reputation of the Jesse window at the Abbey of St. Dennis (for the erection of which Abbot Suger was responsible in 1144) as the prototype of the Jesse Tree, is due to the authority of Émile Mâle (*L'Art religieux du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (ed. 1922), pp. 170 f.): but Watson shows (pp. 77 f.) that it will not bear examination. I am grateful to Dr. Otto Pächt for pointing this out to me.

<sup>3b</sup> On this, see my forthcoming article "The Jewish *Midrashim*, and Patristic and Scholastic Exegesis of the Bible," to appear in *Studia Patristica* (1957), *Papers Presented at the International Conference on Patristic Studies* held in Oxford, 1955; Vol. I, p. 504 f.



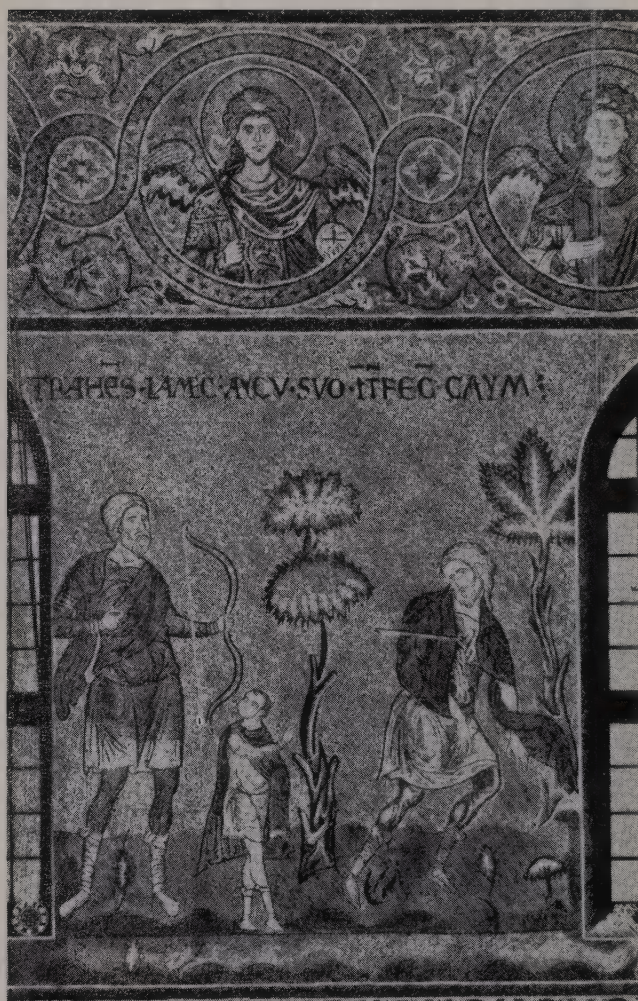


FIG. I. CAIN AND THE DEATH OF LAMECH.  
Monreale Cathedral

which the biblical text does not supply.<sup>4</sup> The blind Lamech shoots Cain in error, guided by his son, who mistook Cain for a beast. Lamech, smiting his hands together in remorse, thereby accidentally crushes the head of his own son.

The legend of Lamech's blindness was ridiculed (without, however, mention of the child guide) by Methodius of Patara, Bishop of Tyre (*ob.* 312),<sup>5</sup> and the *motif* seems to have flourished in the Byzantine world both in folklore and in biblical iconography; it occurs in a Greek Old Testament history from Adam (*Palaea Historica*), known from a 16th century MS in Vienna,<sup>6</sup> although the work itself probably dates from the 9th century and is based upon an older *Palaea Interpretata*. Byzantine iconography likewise attests the popularity of the legend from the 9th century onwards.<sup>7</sup> A fine 11th century example is to be seen in a mosaic in the (Norman) cathedral at Monreale,<sup>8</sup> and an illustration accompanies a full account of the story, in verse, amongst the Old Testament legends versified by the Cretan Georgios Chumnos (*c.* 1500)<sup>9</sup> known from a sixteenth century MS from Sinai now in the British Museum.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Midrash Tanhuma*, *Genesis* § 11 (German translation by F. Singermann (1927), p. 30). L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (1913), vol. 1, p. 116 and vol. 5, p. 146, note 44, where rabbinic and patristic parallels are listed; see also, for the latter, V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada* (1922), pp. 68 f. M. R. James, *Old Testament Legends* (1913), pp. xii f.

<sup>5</sup> Cited by J. A. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudoepigraphicus*, vol. 1, pp. 120–2, from Michael Glycas (12th cent.).

<sup>6</sup> Cod. Vind. theo. 210, described by A. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Byzantina* (1893).

<sup>7</sup> W. Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration um Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (1922), p. 42, note 55, quoting Vassiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 f.

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Miss L. Boutroy for facilities to reproduce this. The Monreale mosaics, which clearly reflect Byzantine prototypes, are themselves of mid-Byzantine workmanship. See O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1949 ('50)), pp. 255 f., 253.

<sup>9</sup> See F. H. Marshall, *Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem by Georgios Chumnos* (1925), with an English translation. See especially pp. 10 f., plate 2.

<sup>10</sup> MS Add. 40724; see Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. xi f., xxii. Other Byzantine examples before 1200 (the knowledge of which I owe to the Princeton *Index of Christian Art*) are: — (i) Octateuch (12th cent.) which belonged to the Evangelical School, Smyrna, f. 17<sup>v</sup> (now destroyed: reproduced by D-C Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque de Smyrne* (1909), plate 9, no. 26, and p. iii); this has affinities with (ii) Octateuch (11th cent.) in Constantinople (Seraglio Library) f. 52<sup>r</sup>, the Lamech scene reproduced by T. Ouspensky, in the Bulletin of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (= *Izvestia russkago arkhologicheskago Instituta v. Konstantinopolye*) vol. 12 (1907), p. xii (31). (iii) Vatican MS gr. 746, f. 47<sup>r</sup> — a Greek Octateuch of the 12th century from Syria or Sicily. (iv) Vatican MS gr. 747, f. 26<sup>v</sup>, also a 12th cent. Greek Octateuch. On the last two MSS see N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantine* (1886–9), vol. 2, pp. 75 f., 79, but no reproductions are given.



In Western Christendom, the *motif* figures in ecclesiastical art from the 11th century, and extant examples clearly point back, by their composition, to Byzantine prototypes. A most spirited example in sculpture, from the first half of the 12th century, occurs on a capital in the cathedral of St. Lazare at Autun.<sup>11</sup> From the beginning of the 13th century the scene is found in French and English picture bibles,<sup>12</sup> and the legend occurs in the middle English *Story of Genesis*<sup>13</sup> of about 1250. The diffusion of the story in the West from the 13th century onwards is due to its occurrence in Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*,<sup>14</sup> published shortly before 1175. The Comestor is himself dependent upon the unprinted commentary of Andrew of St. Victor on the Octateuch,<sup>15</sup> and Andrew reflects Rashi's Hebrew commentary *in loc.*; likewise Andrew's teacher Hugh of St. Victor records the same tradi-

<sup>11</sup> Northern aisle, capital 11. Here reproduced from V. Terret, *La Sculpture Burguignonne aux xii<sup>e</sup> et xiii<sup>e</sup> siècles* (1925), vol. 2 (Autun), plate xl. Other occurrences in stone are: — (i) Modena Cathedral, western exterior, relief above portal, right (first half of 12th cent.). (ii) Vezelay, Church of St. Madeleine, narthex, capital 12 (same date; reproduced in F. Salet, *Madeleine de Vezelay* (1948), plate 44. (iii) In the same church, capital in the nave, southern side, pier 4 (same date). M. R. James mentions (*op. cit.*, see note 4) that the scene is also depicted in the roof of Norwich Cathedral, and on the west front of Wells.

<sup>12</sup> See O. Pächt, "A giottesque episode in English Medieval Art," in the *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 6 (1943), p. 62. The following examples are known to me to exist in illuminated MSS: — (i) The Roda Bible in Paris (B. N. lat. 6, f. 6<sup>r</sup>; reproduced by P. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes* (1927), plate viii and pp. 40–2 f.), 1st half of 11th century. (ii) Psalter (Munich, Staatsbibliothek cod. lat. 835, f. 9<sup>v</sup>), 12th–13th century, described in catalogue as 14th–15th cent. (iii) Augustine, *de Civitate Dei* (Schulpforta, Bibliothek der Landesschule A. 10, f. 3<sup>r</sup>; reproduced by A. de Laborde, *Les Manuscrits à Peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin* (1909), vol. 3, plate iii, see also vol. 1, pp. 174–5 (c. 1180). (iv) The Egerton Genesis (British Museum, MS Egerton 1894, f. 3<sup>r</sup>; reproduced by M. R. James, *Illustrations of the Book of Genesis*, Roxburghe Club (1924), see pp. 3–6, 12, 25), 14th cent. (v) The Holkham Picture Bible (British Museum, Add. 47682, *olim* MS Holkham 666, reproduced by M. R. James, *Walpole Society*, vol. 11 (1922–3), plate iv and by W. O. Hassall, *The Holkham Bible Picture book* (1954), ff. 6<sup>v</sup>–7), 14th cent. (vi) O. Pächt, *op. cit.*, mentions also a French MS in the John Rylands Library (fr. 5, ff. 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>), referring to R. Fawtier, *La Bible Historiée toute figurée de la John Rylands Library* (1924), plate xxiv and pp. 4, 45.

<sup>13</sup> See Oliver F. Emerson, "Legends of Cain, especially in Old and Middle English," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 21 (new series vol. 14), 1906, p. 874, referring to the MS in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (James' *Catalogue* no. 444) published by R. Morris (Early English Text Society, no. 7, 1865), pp. ix, 14.

<sup>14</sup> P. L. vol. 198, 1079C–D: *Lamech . . . habens adolescentem ducem . . . cum expe-riretur quod . . . Cain interfecisset, iratus illic arcu ad mortem verberavit eum* [sc. iuvenem]. *Occiderat ergo Cain in vulnere, adolescentem in livore vulneris.*

<sup>15</sup> MSS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 217 f. 275<sup>v</sup>, and 30 f. 9<sup>r</sup> col. i.



FIG. II. CAIN AND THE DEATH OF LAMECH. Autun Cathedral



tion as being a Jewish one,<sup>16</sup> being himself most probably dependent upon oral rather than literary Jewish sources.

It is, of course, possible to account for the presence of this iconographical *motif* in the West purely on the basis of Byzantine prototypes: but one cannot help feeling that the passing of such a pictorial tradition to Western Christendom must owe something to the fact that during the 12th and 13th centuries Christian exegetes were becoming increasingly aware of the relevance of what the Jews themselves had to say concerning their own Bible, so that Christian biblical exegesis enjoys an accession of strength through the reinfusion into it of Jewish aggadic material. At least, after the publication of the *Historia Scholastica*, visual representations of the *Lamech* scene have been palpably influenced by it;<sup>17</sup> and it seems reasonable to suppose that the same influence may have been exerted by the Comestor's own sources at the literary, or possibly even the oral stage of their rediscovery from the Hebrew commentaries to the Bible.

Yet even though we may recognize in this rediscovered respect for the Hebrew commentators the fruits of a new orientation with regard to the letter, paradoxically, no radically new linguistic approach to the biblical text as yet manifested itself. The outlet for grammatical and philological interests took the form of textual criticism of the Vulgate—the production of a standardized text for use in the Paris schools, and of *correctoria*, or lists of alternative and improved readings. If the corrector happened also to be a hebraist, as was Hugh of St. Cher of Paris, matter extraneous and indeed confusing for the textual criticism of the Latin Bible might be included<sup>18</sup> — a point which eluded Bacon, who expresses himself forcibly on the liberties taken by correctors of the Vulgate and counsels reference to the Hebrew.<sup>19</sup> Later in the century more developed canons of criticism aided those possessed of

<sup>16</sup> *Adnotationes in Pentateuchon*, P. L. vol. 175, 44D–45A (*Opinio antiqua tradit hebraeorum*). B. Smalley (*Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 104, note 1) shows that Hugh cannot be dependent exclusively on the Lamech story as found in the Gloss and there ascribed, incorrectly, to Hrabanus Maurus (contrast Gloss, ed. Basle, 1498, vol. I, sig. G 4b with Hrabanus, P. L. vol. 107, 509A). Hugh draws on Joseph Kara in this passage (*loc. cit.*, 45B, *alia opinio*) as well as on Rashi.

<sup>17</sup> E. g., with the Comestor as quoted above (note 14) compare the following caption added (but subsequently) to the illustration in MS Egerton 1894: *Lamek pur ceo qil feult veugles il avoit vn enfaunt de li mener . . . quaunt il fut seu de la mort de cain . . . a poi qil ne fust forcenee pur dolour. Adonques Lamek pur corouee de la mort Kaym baty lenfant . . . et ensi occit il deux . . .*

<sup>18</sup> See my *Mediaeval Christian Hebraists*, I, p. 233.

<sup>19</sup> *Opus Maius*, ed. J. H. Bridges (1900), III, vol. I, p. 78; *Opus Minus*, ed. J. S. Brewer (1859), p. 330.



a knowledge of Hebrew to avoid temptation.<sup>20</sup> The latter, as a class, were somewhat less rare than Bacon's plaint of contemporary ignorance<sup>21</sup> would allow, but there is little to suggest that their work represents more than the unorganized effort of individuals. At the most we can speak, at present, of isolated scholars and of one or two rather shadowy "cells." And apart from Bacon's own voice in the wilderness,<sup>22</sup> there was as yet no suggestion that Hebrew should enter the regular curriculum of the schools.

Bacon was himself a Franciscan, and it was from the ranks of the two newly-founded mendicant Orders that many scholars of the 13th century were drawn. The Dominicans realized that their evangelical ideal, if it were to be successfully implemented, must be founded upon scholarship; and their combination of studious contemplation with a zeal for popular preaching harks back to the tradition of the Victorine scholars. They did, indeed, prosecute the study of Hebrew and Arabic for missionary purposes in Spain and the Orient, and they may have established a Hebrew school at Paris about 1236.<sup>23</sup> In London, a member of the Order named Robert of Reading, famed for his eloquence in the pulpit and for his Hebrew learning (*praedicator optimus linguaue Hebraea eruditissimus*) actually embraced Judaism in 1275; having adopted the name of Haggai, submitted to circumcision, and married a Jewess, he is said to have been handed over by the King to the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>24</sup> Amongst the Minorites, St. Francis' own prejudice against learning and ban on study was to evoke opposition even within his own lifetime, and after his death in 1226 it was

<sup>20</sup> See B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 335.

<sup>21</sup> *Opus Tertium*, ed. Brewer, chap. x, pp. 33 f.; xxv, p. 94. *Opus Minus*, p. 349.

<sup>22</sup> *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, ed. Brewer, chap. viii, p. 466; chap. vi, pp. 433 f.

<sup>23</sup> So P. Mandonnet, art. *Dominicains* in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1889), vol. 2, col. 1471 f.; for Paris, see his *Saint Dominique* (1938), vol. 1, p. 195 ("semble avoir été établie" — no evidence is cited). This is accepted, with circumspection, by B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 399.

<sup>24</sup> Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle* (continuation), ed. B. Thorpe (1849), vol. 2, p. 214. For the most recent discussion, see C. Roth, *Jews of Mediaeval Oxford*, pp. 20–21, footnote. The incident seems to be distinct from, rather than a variant version of the well-known conversion of an unnamed deacon from Coventry, degraded by Stephen Langton and burned at Oseney Abbey in 1222. For the latter, see C. Roth, *ibid.*; F. W. Maitland, *The Deacon and the Jewess: or, Apostasy at Common Law*, reprinted (from the *Law Quarterly Review*, 1886) in Maitland's *Collected Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 385 ff., and again, prefaced by additional matter from Hebrew sources by I. Abrahams, in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 6 (1912), pp. 254 f.

overcome.<sup>25</sup> Even though, in the words of St. Bonaventure,<sup>26</sup> the Franciscans might put holiness before learning and the Dominicans *vice versa*, in their application to study little difference is to be detected.

The investigation of Franciscan Hebrew scholarship in England leads us at the outset to the figure of Robert Grosseteste, scholar and ecclesiastical statesman (1175(?)–1253).<sup>27</sup> Grosseteste studied at Oxford and probably at Paris, and was lecturing at Oxford for the five years prior to his consecration to the See of Lincoln in 1235. In 1224 he had become the first Reader to the Franciscans at Oxford (to whom he ultimately was to leave his books);<sup>27a</sup> and he was also *rector scholarum*, i. e. perhaps Chancellor, of the University. Grosseteste acquired a knowledge of Greek, and was responsible for the translation of a number of texts, including the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*.<sup>28</sup> In his capacity as Ordinary of the University he was concerned in the aftermath of the student riot against the Jews of Oxford on 25th March 1244, as a result of which he secured for the Chancellor the privilege of hearing all disputes about loans, taxes, house rentals, and the buying of provisions involving clerks.<sup>29</sup> A maximum rate of interest (2d in the pound per week) was also fixed. Grosseteste is nevertheless alleged by Matthew Paris<sup>30</sup> to have contrasted, on his deathbed, the usurious extortions of the Caorsins with the more reasonable terms of interest expected by the Jews. His own tract *de Cessatione Legalium* was not, as has been asserted, composed to assist

<sup>25</sup> See J. R. H. Moorman, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge* (1952), pp. 3 ff.; B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 268 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Hexaemeron*, col. xxii, ed. Quaracchi (1882–1902), vol. 5, p. 440 (quoted by B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 269 note).

<sup>27</sup> For Grosseteste's biography see H. R. Luard in *D. N. B.*, vol. 23, p. 275; A. G. Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford* (1892), pp. 8, 30, etc; J. C. Russell, "Phases of Grosseteste's Intellectual Life," *Harvard Theological Review*, 43 (1950), 1, p. 93 f., also 48 (1955), 111, p. 197 f.; D. A. Callus, O.P., "The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste," in *Oxoniensia*, vol. 10 (1945), pp. 42–72. Dr. Callus has also included a chapter on the same subject in the recent (1955) commemorative volume edited by him (*Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*), which contains also a chapter by Miss Beryl Smalley on Grosseteste's biblical scholarship.

<sup>27a</sup> See R. W. Hunt in *Grosseteste Volume*, p. 130.

<sup>28</sup> For this, and the bibliography of Grosseteste's works in general, see S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (1940), p. 42.

<sup>29</sup> See C. Roth, *Jews of Mediaeval Oxford*, pp. 127 f.; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (ed. F. M. Powicke & A. B. Emden, 1936), vol. 3, p. 85.

<sup>30</sup> *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1880–, vol. 5, pp. 404–5). Cf. H. Loewe, *Starrs & Jewish Charters Preserved in the British Museum* (1932), vol. 2, p. cvi.



missionary activity among the Jews, but is an academic consideration of the mentality of the early Jewish Christians, and of the supersession of the Old Dispensation by the New.<sup>31</sup> In it Grosseteste evinced some knowledge of Hebrew chronology. He has, indeed, been commonly credited with a knowledge of the Hebrew language itself; the story originated with Roger Bacon, who states<sup>32</sup> that Grosseteste's knowledge of the language was inadequate for him to translate unaided, but that he had many assistants. Nicholas Triveth stretched<sup>33</sup> Bacon's words to convey the information that Grosseteste was *eruditus* in Hebrew as well as in Latin and Greek, and that "he excerpted many things from the *glossa Hebraeorum*." Dr. Daniel Callus, O.P., has suggested recently<sup>34</sup> that some knowledge of Hebrew on Grosseteste's part probably gave rise to the tradition, although Professor S. Harrison Thomson has found no evidence for any in his investigation of Grosseteste's works.<sup>35</sup> It has been suggested<sup>36</sup> that the assistants to whom Bacon referred are William of Mara, whose *floruit* falls later in the century, and William of Arundel, Archdeacon of Huntingdon and the author of a conversionist tract for the translation of which (presumably into Hebrew) he was authorized in 1240 by Henry III to enlist the aid of any (?converted) Jew that he wished.<sup>37</sup> Be that as it may, the fact that Triveth's statement *multa extraxit* is justified, so long as the verb is understood vicariously, is proved by the circumstance that Grosseteste did possess a volume containing 3 or 4 psalters, perhaps in parallel (*simul coniunctim*),<sup>38</sup> one of which was a Hebrew one; and we

<sup>31</sup> See B. Smalley in the *Grosseteste Volume*, p. 81. The older view (for which see S. H. Thomson, *op. cit.* [note 28], p. 121; L. M. Friedman, *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews* (1934) rests merely on Matthew Paris' statement (*op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 233) that Grosseteste translated the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* "in support of the Christian faith and for the greater confounding of the Jews." The fact, therefore, that an inmate of the *Domus Conversorum* assumed the baptismal name of Robert Grosseteste (see M. Adler, *Jews of Mediaeval England* (1939), p. 290) is of more interest than significance.

<sup>32</sup> *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, ed. Brewer, p. 472.

<sup>33</sup> *Annales sex Regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hog (1845), p. 243.

<sup>34</sup> *Grosseteste Volume*, p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 28), pp. 37 f.

<sup>36</sup> J. C. Russell, "The Preferments and 'Adiutores' of Robert Grosseteste," in the *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 26 (1933), pp. 167 f.; *contra*, S. H. Thomson, *loc. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> *Close Rolls of Henry III*, 1237-42, p. 238; C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*<sup>1</sup>, p. 130. This William of Arundel is identified, with some confidence, by Russell (*op. cit.*, p. 170) with Robert of Arundel (ob. 1246), who is described by Matthew Paris (*Chronica Maiora*, vol. 4, p. 553) as *qui in Hebraeo idiomate . . . peritissimus . . . multa de Hebraeo in Latinum fideliter transtulerat*. But?

<sup>38</sup> Referred to by Henry Cossey on the psalter *iuxta hebraeos*, MS Christ's College, Cambridge, Dd. I.11 ((olim F. 1.17, James' Catalogue, no. 11), f. 14<sup>r</sup>, lower

are told by the 14th century hebraist Henry of Cossey that he had a literal version of the Hebrew inscribed word for word above each line of the Hebrew (*superscriptionem quam superscribi fecit dominus Lincolniensis in psalterio suo hebraico de verbo ad verbum sicut in hebreo*).<sup>39</sup>

The words *dominus Lincolniensis* must here be allowed the full force of their chronological implication, since Grosseteste's interest in the *superscriptio* cannot antedate his consecration as Bishop in 1235. This emerges from a study of the sources utilized in his own *Expositio in Psalmos*,<sup>40</sup> a work which falls into two parts. The commentary on Pss. 1-80 (Hebrew enumeration) is drawn from the Latin Fathers, and is apparently based on lecture notes from the period of Grosseteste's Readership with the Oxford Franciscans: it is to be dated 1229-31.<sup>41</sup> The remainder, which may be placed in the years 1231-5, covers Pss. 81-100 only; these are much more fully glossed, and Greek patristic material has been laid under contribution. Moreover, not only is the *Graeca lectio* often preferred, but the variants offered by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are discussed.<sup>42</sup> It is scarcely conceivable that Grosseteste would not have exploited the resources of an inter-linear Hebrew-Latin psalter if he had had such a thing at his disposal. But according to M. R. James,<sup>43</sup> references to the *hebraica veritas* are in fact to Jerome's psalter *iuxta hebraeos*. In any case, Grosseteste's own multiple psalter is no longer known to exist: but there do survive several other Hebrew psalters with a Latin *superscriptio*, as well as MSS of other parts of the Hebrew Bible similarly treated: and it is to the consideration of these *superscriptio* MSS that we must now turn.

\* \* \*

margin: *Psalterium domini Lincolniensis ubi 3 uel 4 simul coniunctim psalteria continentur*. S. A. Hirsch, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 7 (1911-14), p. 10; B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 343, and *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, pp. 5 f.

<sup>39</sup> Cossey, *ibid.*, f. 16<sup>v</sup>. Quoted by B. Smalley, *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, p. 5, note 4, and (more briefly) *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 343. It may be noted that Cossey (*ob.* 1336) introduces this reference with the words *ecclesia uero non adhuc autentizauit* — suggesting, perhaps, that such a move had been mooted; he also refers (f. [77<sup>r</sup>], *supra*) to a *descriptio terre secundum lincolniensem* which, if connected with any of the *superscriptio* MSS of the pentateuch, may extend the area of Grosseteste's sponsorship beyond the psalter.

<sup>40</sup> See M. R. James, "Robert Grosseteste on the Psalms," in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 23 (1922), pp. 181-5. Cf. S. H. Thomson, *op. cit.* (note 28), pp. 75 f., and D. A. Callus, *op. cit.* (note 27), pp. 65 f.

<sup>41</sup> D. A. Callus, *ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

Although several scholars have now discussed<sup>44</sup> these MSS since Hody first drew attention to them 250 years ago, no hebraist has, I fancy, hitherto examined them all. Berger, who frankly stated<sup>45</sup> that where rabbinics were concerned he relied (in Paris) on the help of specialists, seems to have examined most of them personally, before 1893, with the aid of Coxe's Catalogue of Oxford College MSS.<sup>46</sup> Coxe's brief description had been summarized with even greater brevity by Neubauer in his own *Catalogue*<sup>47</sup> (dated 1886) of Bodleian Hebrew MSS, which includes also those in the possession of Oxford College libraries. It seems that Berger did not enlist Neubauer's aid in examining them and that Neubauer himself did not subject them to a very close investigation when preparing his *Catalogue*. S. A. Hirsch appears to have examined one MS only, the psalter in Trinity College, Cambridge. Miss Smalley's most valuable outline, in the preparation of which she enjoyed the collaboration of my late Father, was limited to the psalters. It is a matter of major importance that the Latin (and other) glosses in all these MSS should be published. I must confine myself on this occasion to supplementing and correcting the descriptions furnished by my predecessors with regard to the psalters, of which there are four known with the *superscriptio* proper, or extracts from it, and four others with *marginalia*, etc., embodying similar matter.

The original group described by Berger consisted of two MSS of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (henceforth C. 10 and 11), and one belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge<sup>48</sup> (henceforth Trin.). The earliest of these is C. 10,<sup>49</sup> which contains in parallel columns the Gallican and Hebrew psalters of Jerome, alongside a Hebrew text with a Latin *superscriptio*; it is assigned by Miss Smalley, on western palaeographical grounds, to c. 1230–40. The Latin psalters have been written first, and the Hebrew text has been fitted in with some difficulty in order to keep parallel. The MS, therefore, naturally reads from left to right, against the normal direction of a Hebrew *codex*. The Hebrew

<sup>44</sup> S. Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, etc., pp. 49 f.; Hirsch, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 9 f.; B. Smalley, *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, and more briefly *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 342 f. H. Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus graecis et Latina Vulgata* (Oxford, 1705), p. 450, § 34 attributed the Corpus and St. John's MSS to the 15th century, but did not discuss the *superscriptio* or *marginalia*.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. vii–viii.

<sup>46</sup> Vol. 2 (1852), *Corpus Christi College*, pp. 2 f.; *St. John's College*, p. 43, no. 143.

<sup>47</sup> Vol. 1, col. 861, no. 2435 (= MSS C. C. C. 5–12); col. 862, no. 2439 (= MS St. John's College, 143).

<sup>48</sup> R. 8.6; James' *Catalogue*, no. 782 (vol. 2, p. 244; E. H. Palmer, *Arabic . . . cat.*, Appendix (Schiller-Szinessy), p. 215; B. Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (1780), cod. 97, p. 79.

<sup>49</sup> B. Smalley, *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, p. 6; *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 343. Kennicott, cod. 73, p. 77.

hand is untrained, and possibly that of a non-Jew; the scribe has painfully copied his archetype, and is consequently often more accurate in regard to pointing, etc., than the more fluent hand(s?) of C. 11<sup>49a</sup> and Trin. (in which, however, the pointing may be secondary). Some portions of the Hebrew have been omitted, *e. g.* the controversial section of Ps. 2 which has been subjected to much christological exegesis; and these have been supplemented by a very ungainly and certainly non-Jewish hand. If the omission was deliberate, it might argue a Jewish hand as that of the first scribe. The main importance of C. 10 lies in its anonymous prologue, the author of which takes responsibility for issuing the new translation, without himself claiming to be the author (*ut . . . scripturam Ebreorum edisseram*). Miss Smalley assigns this prologue, of which she has printed an extract,<sup>50</sup> to the pen of Grosseteste. It is worth noting that in the margin at its head (folio 1r) there has been inserted in a clearly amateur and non-Jewish hand distinct from both of the two aforementioned, the equivalents of *amen* in Greek (γενειαιτοι (*sic?*) for γένουτο), Hebrew (spelled אָמֵן), and Arabic (لَوَكِين or? أَوْكِين, perhaps intended for لَيَكُنْ or لَيَكُنَنَّ). There are also to be found in this MS some most careful transliterations of Hebrew words, of which the following are specimens. I give, in addition to a conventional modern transcription of the Hebrew forms, also the phonetic equivalent.<sup>51</sup>

Textual reference.	HEBREW		TRANSLITERATION		
	Massoretic Text.	MS Text if different.	MS	Conventional Transcription.	Phonetic Transcription.
Ps. 3. 6	הַקִּיצוֹתִי	ה'	hakisouthí	h <sup>a</sup> °k̠iʃóthī	h <sup>e</sup> qi:'so:θi:
Ps. 5. 7	תֵּאבֹד		teabeth	t <sup>e</sup> 'abbédh	t <sup>e</sup> ?ab'be:ð
Ps. 6. 6	בְּמוֹת		bamauít	bammáwæth	bam'ma:weθ
Ps. 7. 7	צִוִּית		ciuitha	ʃiwwíthā	siw'wi:θa:
Ps. 7. 9	שַׁפְּטֵנִי	ש'	safteni	shoftēnī	ʃɔφ'te:ni:
Ps. 8. 4	יָרַח		iarea	yārēaḥ	ja:'re:ʔḥ
Ps. 9. 19	עֲנִיִּים ( <i>kre</i> )		anígím	' <sup>a</sup> niyyím	ʕ <sup>a</sup> ni j'ji:m
Ps. 16. 3	לְקֹדְשִׁים		likeḡoushim	lik <sup>e</sup> dhōshím	,liq <sup>o</sup> ðo:'ʃi:m

<sup>49a</sup> Kennicott, cod. 74, *ibid.*                      <sup>50</sup> *BibleStudy*<sup>2</sup>, *loc. cit.*, and p. 344, note.  
<sup>51</sup> The equivalences are those given in the tables in M. H. Segal's Hebrew

The examples listed above may now be discussed.

It seems reasonable to assume that the glossator responsible for these transliterations will have been familiar with some, at least, of those occurring in the works of Jerome. A few examples are to be found in his *Commentarioli* to the Psalter,<sup>52</sup> whence some have been incorporated into the better known *Breviarium in Psalmos* appended (as a pseudograph) to Jerome's works;<sup>53</sup> a number of others referring to the Psalter occur in the well known letter to *Sunnia & Fretela*.<sup>54</sup> But in view of the corruptions which these transliterated words sustained in the MSS, one suspects that the glossator cannot have found them a very consistent guide. A further difficulty is that Jerome's own transliterations (which are not entirely self-consistent) do not correspond with the Tiberian vocalization and morphology of Hebrew finally evolved in the last centuries of the first millennium C. E. by the Massoretes, which has been maintained until the printed bibles of today; they presuppose not merely a premassoretic vocalization and grammar, but often a pronunciation considerably older than that of Jerome's own contemporaries, for as A. Sperber has shown,<sup>55</sup> Jerome worked from Greek *vorlagen*. His own system cannot, therefore, have served our glossator as more than an approximate guide, and it appears that in certain instances he has improved upon it.

*Elements of Hebrew Phonetics* (יסורי הפוניטיקה העברית, Jerusalem, 1928), pp. 37, 48, modified in certain particulars in the light of the *International Phonetic Alphabet* (revised to 1947). I am grateful to Professor H. Orton of Leeds University, and to Dr. Ch. Rabin of Oxford, for advice in this connection. It should be noted that Segal's equivalences presuppose a *Palestinian* pronunciation of the Tiberian vocalization of the Bible (*i. e.* that in use in Europe in the middle ages and today), so that they must be used with some circumspection in the present context.

<sup>52</sup> Published by G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. 3, i (1895).

<sup>53</sup> P. L. vol. 26, 863 f.

<sup>54</sup> Letter no. 106; P. L. vol. 22, 837 f., C. S. E. L. vol. 55, p. 247 f.

<sup>55</sup> "Hebrew based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations," in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vols. 12-13 (Cincinnati, 1937-8), pp. 103 f., especially, p. 109. It may be noted that in this exhaustive and most valuable study Sperber took as his basis (as far as Jerome is concerned) Vallarsi's edition (*i. e.* that reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*; see Sperber, p. 116), as did also Siegfried, who listed the transliterations alphabetically ("Die Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Hieronymus," in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. 4 (1884), pp. 34 f). Siegfried's readings must, however, be used with some circumspection — see Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 105. A few comparisons of Vallarsi's readings with those of the critical text in the *Vienna Corpus* (in which little of Jerome is as yet available) have suggested that Sperber's conclusions are unlikely to be seriously affected as the publication of the critical text of Jerome proceeds. Sperber's methods and results are criticized by E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus auf Grundlage der mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origines* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 464 f., especially p. 487.



It should be noted in passing that the punctuation of the Hebrew text in the MS under review — and even more so in some of the others discussed below — does not always correspond exactly to the Tiberian vocalization system; but the deviations appear to be due to lack of *expertise* on the part of the punctuator rather than to his having followed a non-tiberian system. In any case, these variations do not appear to have any bearing on the transliterations, and only a few, which may be significant, have been noted in the table above.

Since there are at least some grounds for thinking that these glossations are of English *provenance*, it might at first sight occasion some surprise that the transliterations imply, broadly speaking, a sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew — *i. e.* that of Jews from the Iberian peninsular, Provence, and the mediterranean countries generally — rather than the ashkenazic pronunciation of the Jewries of North France and Germany, to whose cultural orbit the Jews of mediaeval England belonged. But the suggestion that a Sephardic type of pronunciation was originally to be found also in France and Germany has now won considerable acceptance; the Tiberian pronunciation was, apparently, being introduced there in the time of Rashi (ob. 1105).<sup>56</sup>

*hakisouthi* (Ps. 3.6). The use of *ou* for ו does not imply the value *ow* with which ו is equated in one variety of modern ashkenazic pronunciation, since in 12th–13th century England *ou* represented a broad *ō* (almost *ao*) as well as *u* and *ū*.

*teabeth* (Ps. 5.7). *th* for ת, though used by Jerome at the end of words,<sup>57</sup> is noteworthy in view of the use of *ȝ* cited below from Ps. 16.3. Roger Bacon in his *Hebrew Grammar* equates ת with *zz*.<sup>58</sup>

*bamauit* (Ps. 6.6). Jerome transliterates און, a weak noun of the same type, as both *aven*<sup>59</sup> and *aben*.<sup>60</sup>

*ciuitha* (Ps. 7.7). *c* for צ is worthy of note. Jerome, who uses *c* for ק and sometimes כ, renders צ and the other sibilants indiscriminately by *s*, although he explains<sup>61</sup> that the sound of *šade* is between *s* and *z*.

<sup>56</sup> See B. Klar, referring to Yalon, in לשוננו, vol. 17, ii–iii (1951), pp. 74–5 (לתולדות ההמבט העברי בימי הביניים). The evidence of the English names transliterated into Hebrew in the mediaeval Jewish deeds may have some bearing on the question of the contemporary pronunciation of Hebrew. See H. Loewe in *Starrs & Jewish Charters preserved in the British Museum*, (ed. I. Abrahams, H. P. Stokes, and H. Loewe, vol. 1, 1930), pp. xxix f.; also R. Loewe, *Herbert of Bosham*, p. 160.

<sup>57</sup> See Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>58</sup> Edited by [E. Nolan and] S. A. Hirsch (1902), p. 207; reproduced by R. Loewe, *loc. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> On Amos 1.4, P. L. vol. 25, 995B; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>60</sup> On Hos. 4.15, P. L. vol. 25, 854A; Sperber, *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> On Isa. 11.1, P. L. vol. 24, 148A, and *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. P. de Lagarde (1887), p. 36; Sperber, p. 114.



*safteni* (Ps. 7.9). *s* for *ʃ* may be an error, in view of *likeʃoushim* cited below from Ps. 16.3. *a* for a short *ḥamatz* is an error; the long and short *ḥamatz* are generally both written *ֶ*, and are to be distinguished merely by the rules of stress in Hebrew accidence; but in the Hebrew text of this MS the (less common) short *ḥamatz* is kept distinct here by being written *ִ*. It may be remarked that the difference between these two identically written vowels was understood by Herbert of Bosham, who on Ps. 90.10 transliterates *רֶהֱבַמֶּה* as *rohebame*.<sup>62</sup>

*iarea* (Ps. 8.4). Jerome transliterates this word as *iaree* and *iare*,<sup>63</sup> thereby indicating that words of this type were not yet vocalized with the furtive *pathah* before the final guttural.

*anigim* (Ps. 9.19, *כְּרֵי* *עֲנִיִּים*). The use of *g* for *yodh* (which the massoretic rubric here substitutes for the *waw* of the consonantal text) need cause no surprise. The author of an anonymous *Isagoge in Theologiam* preserved in a unique MS in Trinity College, Cambridge,<sup>64</sup> states that the Latin *g*, if before *a* or *o*, corresponds to the Hebrew *gimel*, but before *e* and *i* to the Hebrew *yodh* — a fact that is confirmed by the mediaeval transliteration of the Hebrew name *חַיִּים* (*Ḥayyim*) by *Hagim*, *Hagin*, etc., both in England and France.<sup>65</sup> Contrast, however, the form *מַגֵּנְשָׁא* (*magenša*) for Mayence (*Moguntiacum*).

*likeʃoushim* (Ps. 16.3). The use of *thorn* for fricative *ʃ* may be noted; cf. on *teabeth* (Ps. 5.7) above. For *ou*=*i*, cf. on *hakisouthi* (Ps. 3.6) above.

Further examples of transliteration, drawn from C. 10 and other MSS, are discussed below (p. 242 f.) in connection with Ps. 4.

In the other two MSS of the Psalter (C. 11 and Trin.) hitherto described,<sup>66</sup> the Hebrew text has been executed first, with the result that in Trin., where likewise both the Gallican and Hebrew psalters of Jerome have been included, the effect is much more neat. As in the case of C. 10, these volumes read from left to right, so that although the Hebrew was written first, they were clearly prepared either by a non-Jew or at least with a non-Jewish reader in mind. The Latin

<sup>62</sup> See my *Herbert of Bosham*, p. 280, line 158, and p. 291.

<sup>63</sup> On Isa. 24.23, P. L. vol. 24, 296C, and Amos 4.7, P. L. vol. 25, 1029C; Sperber, pp. 130, 229.

<sup>64</sup> MS B. 14.33, f. 36<sup>v</sup>; James' *Catalogue*, no. 317, vol. 1, p. 431. Edited by A. Landgraf, *Écrits Théologiques de l'Ecole d'Abélard*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, vol. 14 (1934); see p. 128. Cf. R. Loewe, *Mediaeval English Hebraists*, p. 246. (*G tamen ante a et o sonum gimel retinet, ut cum dicitur: longa longo longum. Nam e vel i sequentibus potius iot quam gimel sonat, ut cum dicimus gero vel giro*).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. instances occurring in the *Starrs & Jewish Charters* (see note 56), index vol. s. v. *Hagin*.

<sup>66</sup> B. Smalley, *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, pp. 8 f.; *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 345.

hands are later than that of C. 10, that of the *superscriptio* in Trin. being described by Miss Smalley as mid-13th century, and in C. 11 (where Jerome's Gallican psalter was not inserted in the space left for it) as late 13th century. Yet the Hebrew of C. 11 was written before that of Trin. The hand is a fair and fluent one, and almost certainly identical in the two MSS. Neubauer, in his summary treatment of all the Corpus *superscriptio* MSS,<sup>67</sup> says "written by a Christian hand. Square characters." The MSS are not, in fact, a single group; and although, as we have seen, C. 10 may have been written by a Christian, the elegance of C. 11 and Trin. makes this, to say the least, unlikely in their case — although in the previous century Maurice of Kirkham had excited the admiration of Jews for his fair Hebrew hand.<sup>68</sup> If the scribe of Trin. was not identical with the scribe of C. 11, he must at least have been his pupil and slavish copier. The MSS have numerous errors (of the type due to fluency and recollection of near parallels, a tendency to *plene* spellings, etc.) in common, although C. 11 has been more heavily corrected than Trin. Through the major portion of the Psalter both MSS begin and end each leaf with exactly the same word, and this circumstance enables us to assert definitely that Trin. was copying C. 11 and not *vice versa*; for when, by an error of spacing of Trin. on fol. 36<sup>r</sup>, this side of the folio would if filled have contained a few words beyond the last on the corresponding folio 63<sup>r</sup> of C. 11, the scribe of Trin. has filled in the foot of the column with some ornamentation, in order that Trin. 36<sup>v</sup> should begin with the same word as C. 11 63<sup>v</sup>.<sup>68a</sup>

But even though the calligraphy of these two MSS seems to postulate a Jewish hand, such a view is not without its difficulties. The errors referred to above argue against the writer having been a professional Jewish scribe; even more so does the fact that the Name of God has been cancelled when misplaced or wrongly inserted.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, even for an amateur, such independence of Jewish scruple in this connection is difficult to credit in a professing Jew of the 13th century. One is tempted to think in terms of a convert, and Henry of Cossey's reference to the psalter of *Magistri I dudum conuersi*<sup>70</sup> seems

<sup>67</sup> See note 47.

<sup>68</sup> See my *Mediaeval English Hebraists*, p. 234, and M. R. James, "The Salomites," in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 35 (1934), p. 289.

<sup>68a</sup> The difference in the foliation is due to the circumstance of C. 11's containing also a Hebrew *Proverbs*, which reads Hebrew-wise, from right to left. No Latin version has been inserted, but there are some *marginalia* at the beginning of chap I only.

<sup>69</sup> E. g. MS C. 11, f. 63<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> On Ps. 103 (104), MS (see note 38) f. [168<sup>r</sup>]; cf. f. [14<sup>r</sup>] margin, foot (on Ps. 1),

to strengthen the case. There is, however, a further piece of evidence not hitherto noted, which although tenuous disinclines me to accept the convert theory. In these two psalters there are a number of marginal jottings in a neat rabbinic hand, consisting of petitions for deliverance, in phraseology reminiscent of the Psalms. Thus, in Trin. (f. 13<sup>v</sup>) we find מכל רע (sic) ישמרני מכל אויבי ויצילני [יי], "May [The Lord] preserve me from all mine enemies and deliver me from all evil." C. 11 has (f. 46<sup>r</sup>): יי ישמרני מכל בושה וכלמה ועורני, "The Lord preserve me from all shame and disgrace, and help me." Similar ejaculations are to be found in MS Corpus 7, <sup>70a</sup> and in that MS (the Hebrew hand of which is not the same as that of Trin. and C. 11) include prayers for deliverance from exile, slavery, and death. From circumstances such as the fact that the last mentioned occurs at the end of a gathering (f. 123<sup>r</sup>; similarly in C. 11, f. 59<sup>v</sup>), we may, I think, take it that these invocations are from the hand of the scribe himself, or possibly of a subsequent punctuator, rather than some later Jewish reader. Outbursts of such a kind clearly bespeak a troubled, if not a pathological conscience. Yet its owner was, perhaps, more likely a faithful Jew, persuaded against feelings of propriety, or rather of group loyalty, into cooperation with a gentile venture to study Hebrew and rabbinic exegesis, rather than a forlorn and wistful inmate of the *Domus Conversorum*.

In C. 10 and Trin. the *superscriptio* is continuous throughout the Psalter; in C. 11 it is but rarely inserted between the lines, but sporadic references to it (as "Judeus") occur in the *marginalia*. The main marginal annotations in this MS seem to be connected with the 14th century scholar Nicholas Triveth,<sup>71</sup> and a full discussion of them must be left for another occasion. On the other hand in a fourth MS at Westminster Abbey,<sup>72</sup> the *superscriptio* has not been inserted except for a few words;<sup>73</sup> here, too, the Hebrew was first written — once again,

and f. [16<sup>r</sup>] (Ps. 2), *rabi J. tarde conuersus*, f. [151<sup>r</sup>] (Ps. 92), *magistri Iohannis dudum conuersi*; similarly on Ps. 95 (f. [155<sup>r</sup>]). But on Ps. 106 (105).1 (f. [174<sup>v</sup>]) Cossey distinguishes "Master John's" psalter from the *Superscriptio Lincolniensis*.

<sup>70a</sup> This MS, which contains no *superscriptio* but a few similar glosses (on Joshua-Kings), will be dealt with together with other MSS of books other than the Psalter in a separate article, to appear in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*.

<sup>71</sup> On Triveth see *D. N. B.*, vol. 19, p. 1161 (C. L. Kingsford), and B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 346 f.

<sup>72</sup> MS 2. See J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *Catalogue*, p. 64. B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 349. Kennicott (see note 48), cod. 133, p. 82.

<sup>73</sup> The *Catalogue* description may be supplemented by the following details. Ps. 1.1 has a *superscriptio*, *beatus uir qui non*. Ps. 2.7 has (in another hand) *anunciayer* (אנפיר) and costume (חק, i. e. *statute*). Ps. 5.1 on אל [הנחלות] has *ad uel pro* (1st hand). In Ps. 25.19 the Hebrew text has been inserted by a 2nd (non-Jewish) hand in a lacuna. In Ps. 28 there is an insertion in a 3rd hand. Ps. 32.11 has *letami* (שמח) in



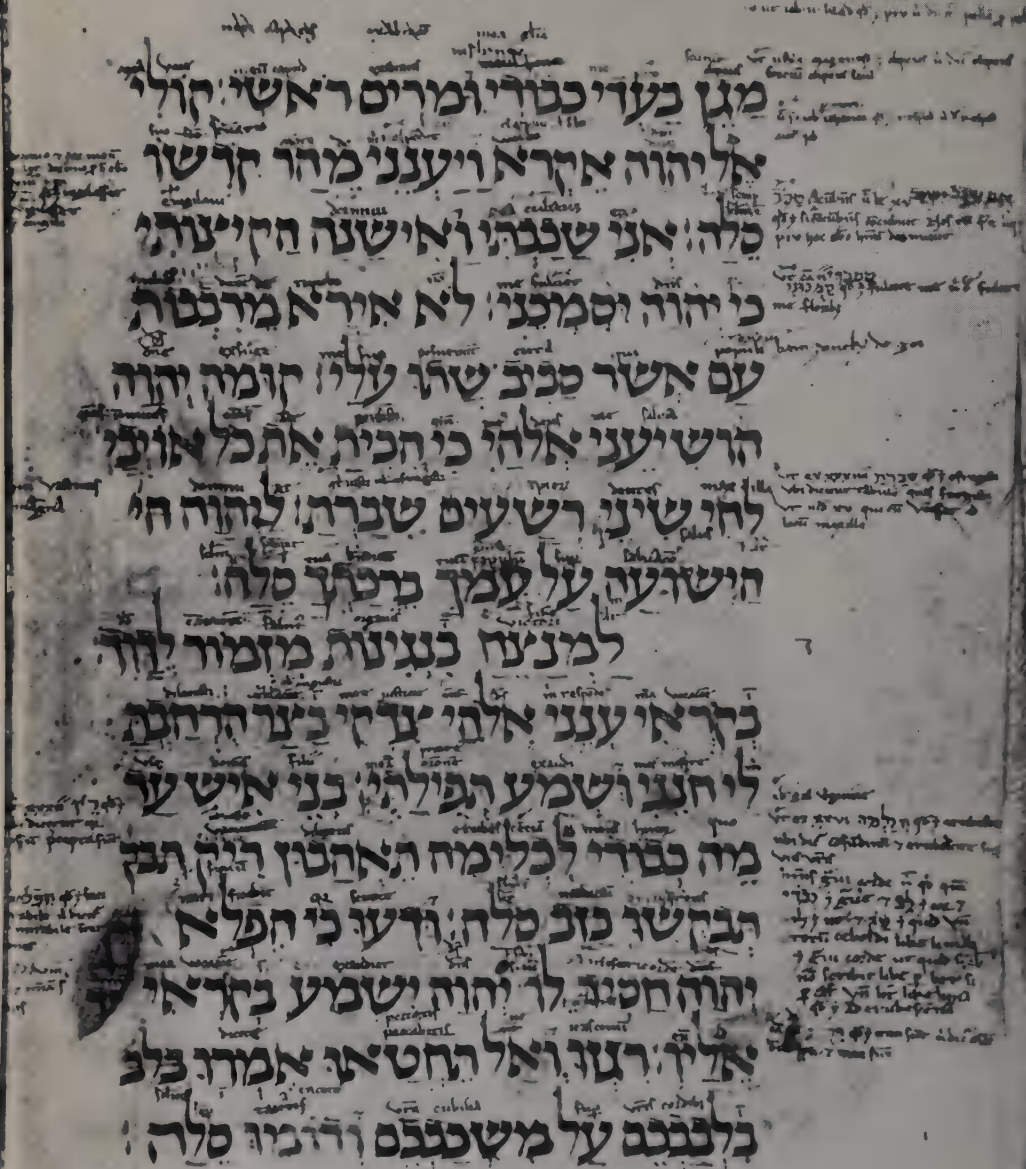


FIG. III. SPELMAN'S HEBREW-LATIN PSALTER (MS Longleat House, 21). Psalm 4.



in the opposite direction to that normal in a Hebrew book — and generous margins were left for the insertion of one Latin psalter text only, *viz.* the Gallican. The Hebrew hand has affinities with C. 10 and with MS Lambeth Palace 435 (see below, p. 222), but it is identical with neither. The Latin hand is a 13th century one. This MS was not known to Berger. A feature of it, to which we shall have occasion to revert below, is the occurrence of French glosses interspersed with the Latin.

A fifth *superscriptio* psalter, to the existence of which Mr. N. R. Ker recently drew my attention, is in the library of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat House,<sup>74</sup> Wiltshire. This is the most elaborate of all so far known to me, and the Hebrew text does not seem to have been specially prepared; no space was left for any parallel Latin version, and the MS, which reads from right to left, seems to have been intended for ordinary devotional or scholarly use by Jews. It has, however, had a complete *superscriptio* inserted, with numerous alternative renderings also between the lines. The preface in C. 10<sup>75</sup> had envisaged future work on the new literal version, and the correction and improvement of the text which the author was sponsoring.<sup>76</sup> The citations from the *superscriptio* (*i. e.* “*Judeus*”) in C. 11 do sometimes adduce alternatives, but in nothing like the same profusion as is found in MS Longleat. In addition to its *superscriptio*, this MS has also numerous *marginalia*, which evince a respectable standard of Hebrew scholarship; and this type of commentary links it (formally) with another group of annotated Hebrew psalters that have this kind of gloss but not, in most cases, a *superscriptio*. It is in these psalters that an admixture of French glosses is met with, as in the case of the Westminster MS. Miss Smalley has suggested<sup>77</sup> that sometimes the French glosses represent the renderings actually supplied to the glossator by a Jewish collaborator, with whom he conversed in the vernacular; in order to save time, he may have taken them down *verbatim* instead of

*domino* (בִּיהוָה). Ps. 51.3–4 has, in the first hand, *miserere mei* (חַנּוּנִי) *deus* (אֱלֹהִים) *misereris tuam* (*sic*: כַּחסֶּדֶךָ) *magnitudinem* (כֶּרֶב) *laua me* (כִּבְסֵנִי) *munda me* (טַהַרֵּנִי). A Hebrew scribble on the end flyleaf (verso), otherwise illegible, contains the name מִשְׁחָה.

<sup>74</sup> MS 21. It belonged to Sir Henry Spelman; and it is perhaps curious that it finds no mention in the edition of another MS psalter (Latin) owned by him, furnished with a similar Anglo-Saxon *superscriptio*, that was published by his son John Spelman (*Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum uetus*, 1640).

<sup>75</sup> See above, p. 215.

<sup>76</sup> B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 344 note (*Non enim correptionis stimulum renuo, sed inuidie*). *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, p. 8.

<sup>77</sup> *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, p. 15; *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 347 f.



always translating them into Latin. But these French renderings have sometimes been carefully added (at the same time) immediately *following* the corresponding Latin. Rashi is referred to explicitly, as *Salomon glosator*, on at least one occasion.<sup>77a</sup>

Of the other MSS containing such a marginal gloss the most interesting is that in the Library of Lambeth Palace,<sup>78</sup> of which the notes are in a 13th century hand: the vellum is English, and the Hebrew, in a 12th–13th century hand, was perhaps written by a non-Jew.<sup>79</sup> On f. 112<sup>r</sup> opposite Ps. 119.129 the name *perez ben dama* occurs, written both thus and, in a clearly non-Jewish hand, in Hebrew as פֶּרֶז בֶּן דָּמָה (*sic*).<sup>79a</sup> At the foot of f. 29<sup>v</sup> there is a rabbinic scribble of the type met with in C. 11 and Trin. but not, I think, in the same hand, quoting the first half of Ps. 17.8. The inscription *Collegii S<sup>ci</sup> Petri* on f. 1<sup>r</sup> shows that the MS — which is to be read Hebrew-wise, from right to left — was once in the possession of Peterhouse, Cambridge.<sup>79b</sup> The French element is Anglo-Norman; there are also a few English glosses,<sup>79c</sup> and M. R. James suggested tentatively that the names found on one of the flyleaves connect this psalter with Norfolk. The glossator of this MS refers to his Jewish informant not

<sup>77a</sup> On Ps. 50.5 (f. 40<sup>r</sup>, *supra*). Herbert of Bosham likewise cites *Salomon, litterator Salomon* (R. Loewe, *Herbert of Bosham*, p. 60; B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 190).

<sup>78</sup> MS 435. M. R. James & C. Jenkins, *Catalogue*, p. 607. Kennicott (see n. 48), cod. 131, p. 81. I have found the missing first leaf of this psalter bound up (still unglossed) in MS St. John's College, Oxford, 143, f. 1, for which MS see B. Smalley, *Hebrew-Latin Psalters*, p. 15; *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 347.

<sup>79</sup> I have been able to make use of the unpublished script of a paper on this psalter read by my late Father to the Society for Old Testament Study in July, 1937, together with some MS notes on the Hebrew palaeography by Mr. M. Lutski, now of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, whom my Father consulted. See Cant. 7.9b (Hebrew 10b) and T. B. *Yebamoth* 97a.

<sup>79a</sup> It is now clear, from a further note on Ps. 119.14, that this name does not refer to a person but is a mnemonic derived from the *Larger Massorah* to verse 31, indicating the occurrences in Ps. 119 of עָרֹחִיךְ (as against עָדֹחִיךְ).

<sup>79b</sup> It may be identified with the *Psalterium hebreum* that is listed as no. 74 in the catalogue of Peterhouse books compiled in 1418 (see M. R. James, *Peterhouse Catalogue*, p. 3f, p. 7), since that catalogue records *domini* as the first word of the penultimate leaf (=f. 130<sup>v</sup>, Ps. 148.7), although there is no correspondence with the catalogue's alleged *Exurge* at the top of the 2nd leaf. (קוּמָה [= *exsurge*], Ps. 3.8, is unglossed, and occurs near the foot of the column). Although the description of no. 73 in the same catalogue as *Psalterium hebreum cum latino* might seem to point to its identification, rather than that of no. 74, with MS Lambeth, it seems precluded by the catalogue's note that no. 73 has as the first word of the 2nd leaf (*in margine*) *laudent*.

<sup>79c</sup> E. g., f. 8<sup>r</sup> (Ps. 12.9, זָלַח *zuluz glute ang[lice] gredi*. James (*Catalogue*, *loc. cit.*) said that he had not noticed any English.

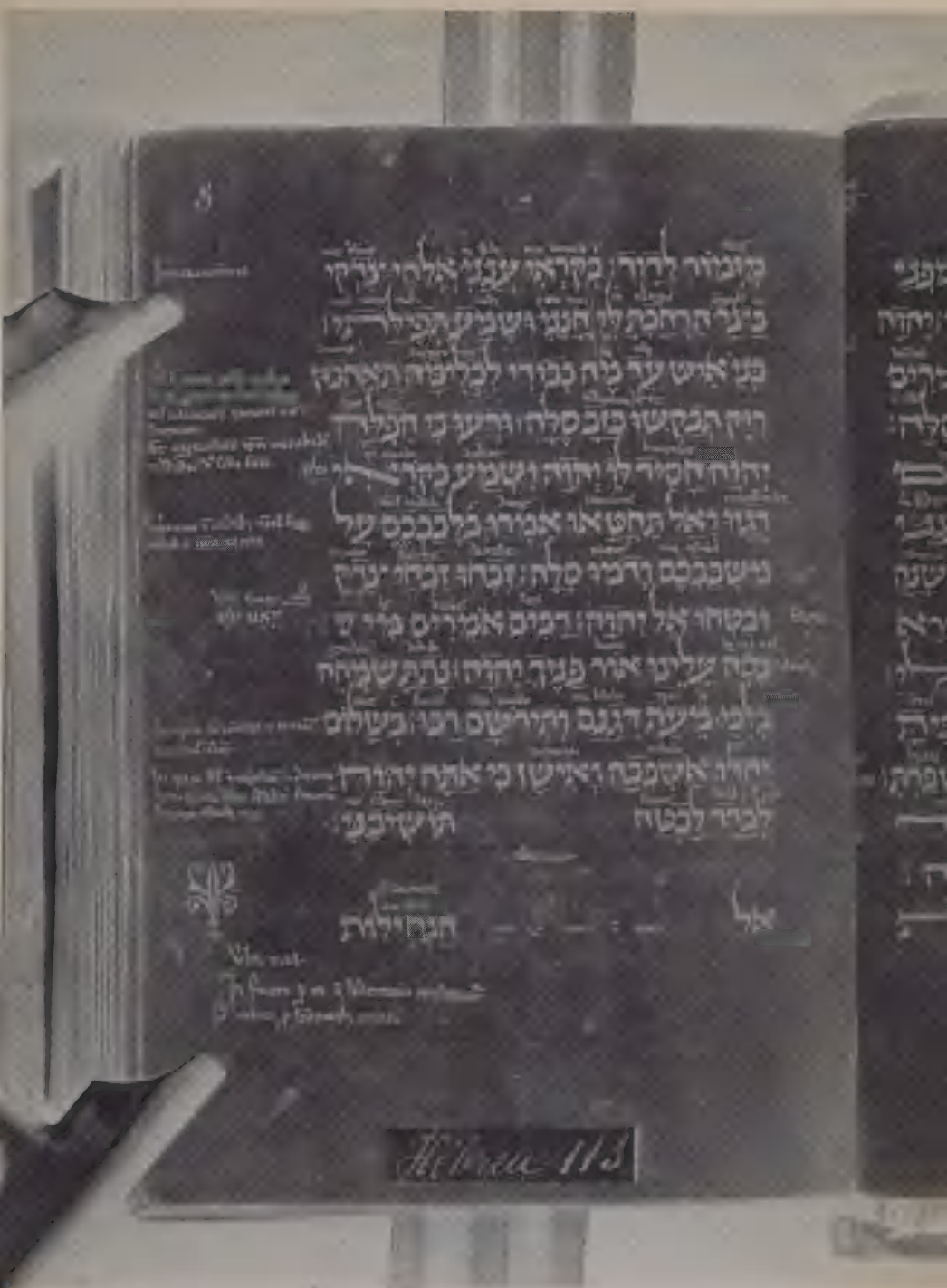


FIG. IV, PARIS HEBREW PSALTER WITH INCOMPLETE INTERLINEAR LATIN VERSION  
(MS B. N. Hébr. 113). Psalm 4.

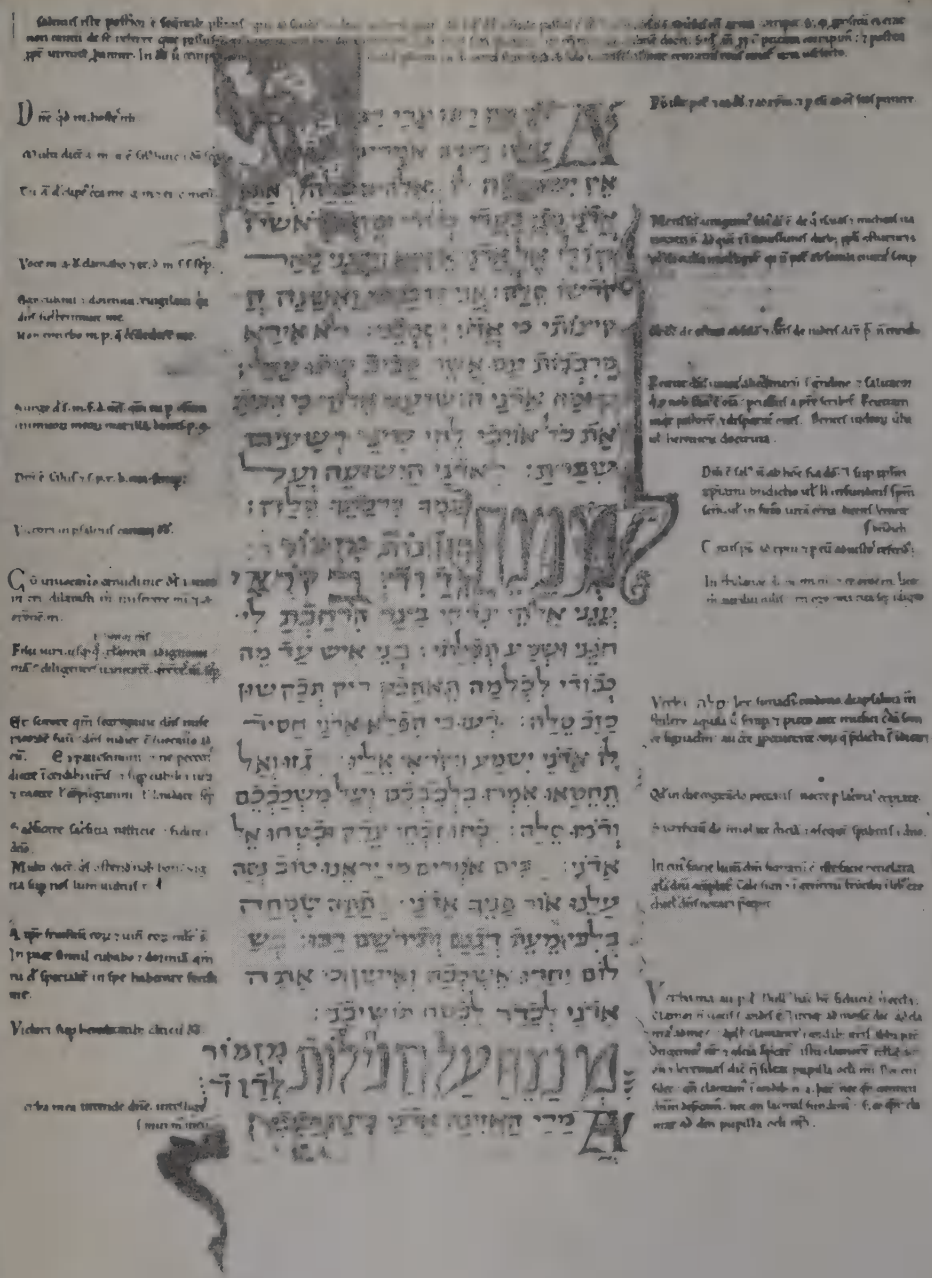


FIG. V. GLOSSED HEBREW PSALTER FROM ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY (MS Leiden, Scaliger Heb. 8). Psalm 4.

by the conventional title *Hebraeus* or *Judaeus*, but writes *rabi dicit* (*dixit*). He has also utilized Herbert of Bosham's commentary to the psalter of Jerome *iuxta hebraeos*,<sup>80</sup> unless the two have a common Latin source: the interconnection is closer than could be accounted for by assuming independent reference to Rashi in Hebrew by both commentators. Because of its inclusion of French glosses, we must list at this point a Paris MS,<sup>81</sup> to be assigned also to a mid-13th century date; but the gloss has been written between the lines in the manner of the *superscriptio*, while the margin contains excerpts from the psalter *iuxta hebraeos*. That version is also found in the margin of a further psalter, now in Leiden.<sup>82</sup> There is no *superscriptio* here, but the MS — which reads Hebrew-wise — seems to have been prepared, like C. 10 and 11, Trin., and MS Westminster, with a view to inserting the Latin versions parallel to the Hebrew, on either side of which a wide margin has been left; but the Hebrew hand is quite distinct from any of the others. It was described by Steinschneider<sup>83</sup> as possibly that of a Christian: the initial words, at least, the letters of which have been stylized to resemble Latin capitals, were certainly not written by a Jew.<sup>83a</sup> The Latin portion is in an earlier hand than those of the other psalters, and is to be dated *c.* 1150 in the opinion of both Professor F. Wormald and Dr. G. Lieftinck, of Leiden University Library; moreover, it contains none of the features with which we are now familiar from the psalters described above. The text of the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* has, it is true, been altered somewhat, apparently by reference to the Hebrew. There is also a gloss, in the opposite column, abridged from the *Breviarium in Psalmos* appended to the works of Jerome.<sup>84</sup> We know that this MS was once in England, since it is to be identified with the Hebrew psalter of John of Sturr(y), lost from the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury<sup>85</sup> — a note of acquisition which gives us the name of

<sup>80</sup> See my *Mediaeval English Hebraists*, p. 245, note 1, and *Herbert of Bosham*, pp. 44 f.

<sup>81</sup> B. N. Ms Hébreu 113.

<sup>82</sup> MS Scaliger Heb. 8 (=codex orientalis 4725). On this MS see now G. I. Lieftinck, "The 'Psalterium Hebraycum' from St Augustine's Canterbury rediscovered" in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. II, 2 (1955), p. 97 f.

<sup>83</sup> *Leiden Catalogue*, p. 349.

<sup>83a</sup> Lieftinck adduces evidence to show that the Hebrew text, as well as the initials, is from the hand of a western, non-Jewish scribe, and is supported by S. A. Birnbaum; *loc. cit.* (see note 82), pp. 97-9, p. 99, note 1; but see also p. 104, note 3.

<sup>84</sup> P. L. vol. 26, 801 f. Cf. below, p. 231.

<sup>85</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (1903), p. 201,

another presumed hebraist, of a date in the 13th or 14th century<sup>85a</sup>.

The remaining MS, the hand of whose glosses is (in the opinion of Miss Smalley) somewhat earlier than the middle of the 13th century, is in the Bodleian Library.<sup>86</sup> The glosses here are all of the Latin and French type already described, and are in the margin. The Hebrew text is closely written — the pages reading normally, from right to left — clearly by a Jew, but not a professional scribe; this psalter, like MS Longleat, was probably intended for normal Jewish use. The initial words of the psalms seem however to have been inserted by a non-Jew. They have subsequently been added again, in the margin, by a Jewish hand.

\* \* \*

Before we turn to examine specimens of the exegesis of the *superscriptio* and the other glosses, we may glance at the model upon which the plan of the *superscriptio* seems to have been based. This inter-linear method of translation had been proposed in the previous century by the anonymous author of the *Isagoge in Theologiam* in Trinity College, Cambridge,<sup>87</sup> who actually inserted a second register in his *superscriptio* in order to display the Hebrew text in transliteration; but in the one known copy of his work, the *superscriptio* has been inserted in actual fact for one citation only, that of the first of the Ten Commandments. Both this author and the glossators of our psalters seem to have derived their idea from the English tradition of glossation of the Latin Bible. There are in existence a number of MSS both of the Gallican psalter and of the Vulgate gospels furnished with Anglo-Saxon glosses, several of them being well-known for their artistic merit as well as for their linguistic importance. One of the best known is the Canterbury psalter written in the mid-twelfth

no. 89, pp. lxxxv, 174. I am grateful to Mr. N. R. Ker for information of the identity of this psalter with the one at Leiden.

<sup>85a</sup> Dr. G. Lieftinck, of Leiden, has kindly shown me his as yet unpublished paper on this psalter (see note 82), from which I learn that the full inscription can be read under ultraviolet light as *Psalterium hebraicum de Adquisicione Johannis de Stureya precentoris*. A Thomas de Sturrey is known as sub-prior and benefactor of St. Augustine's in 1270, and a younger namesake died in 1298 (cf. J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of writers of 13th century England* (1936), pp. 170-1). Lieftinck assumes that John of Sturry is a relative of the younger Thomas.

<sup>86</sup> MS Bodley Or. 621. Neubauer, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, col. 18, no. 112; B. Smalley, *Bible Study*<sup>2</sup>, p. 347.

<sup>87</sup> See above, note 64.



century by Eadwine, and now one of the treasures of Trinity College, Cambridge;<sup>88</sup> beside which may be put another, about a century its senior, from the New Minster, Winchester, and now in the British Museum.<sup>89</sup> Older still is the so-called Vespasian psalter,<sup>90</sup> whose gloss belongs to the first half of the 9th century, while the Lindisfarne Gospels, furnished with a similar gloss and written by Eadfrith,<sup>91</sup> go back to the 7th or 8th. Scholars who have dealt with these glosses find evidence in them for an extended activity; the abstract vocabulary of the Vespasian psalter, for instance, postulates a considerable anterior development.<sup>92</sup> Glossed psalters of this type appear to have been used particularly by women in nunneries.<sup>93</sup>

Already in the Vespasian psalter, care has been taken to render the original syllabically; *i. e.*, where appropriate, the gloss is written above the relevant portion of the Latin word. Thus, in Ps. 97 (96).3, where the Latin text of the MS reads (independently of both the Gallican psalter and that *iuxta hebraeos*), *Ignis ante eum praeibit*, the word *praeibit* is glossed thus:

fore      geð  
p r a e i b i t

Similar care is taken in Eadwine's Canterbury psalter, which contains the three Latin psalters of Jerome written side by side: the Gallican being accompanied by extracts of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the Roman by an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version, and the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* by a similarly arranged translation into French. If, as seems likely enough,

<sup>88</sup> MS R. 17.1; M. R. James, *Catalogue* no. 987 (vol. 2, pp. 402 f.). James also edited (1935) a photographic facsimile (*The Canterbury Psalter*). The text was edited by F. Harsley (Early English Text Society, 1889). See also "Der Psalter des Eadwine von Canterbury," by K. Wildhagen, in *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, vol. 13 (1905). James (*Facsimile*, p. 4) compares a Paris MS (B. N. Lat. 8846) of the late 12th-early 13th century.

<sup>89</sup> MS Arundel 60.

<sup>90</sup> British Museum, MS Cotton Vesp. A. 1; printed by H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* (1885). See O. Heinzel, "Kritische Entstehungsgeschichte des ags. Interlinear-Psalters," *Palaestra*, vol. 151 (1926), especially, p. 113; K. Wildhagen, "Studien zum Psalterium Romanum in England und zu seinen Glossierungen (in geschichtlicher Entwicklung)," in the *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* (1913), pp. 417 f., especially p. 448.

<sup>91</sup> British Museum, MS Cotton Nero D. 4 (reproduced in facsimile by E. G. Millar, 1923). Mention may also be made of the Rushworth Gospels (Bodleian MS D. 24, *Summary Catalogue*, no. 3496).

<sup>92</sup> I am grateful to my friend Mr. J. I'a. Bromwich of St. John's College, Cambridge, for information and guidance with reference to these Anglo-Saxon glosses.

<sup>93</sup> Wildhagen, *op. cit.* (note 90), pp. 426 f.



the *superscriptio* of these Hebrew MSS found its inspiration in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of vernacular glossation, perhaps the idea of having Hebrew texts prepared with the standard Latin version(s) alongside was drawn from such parallel psalters as that of Eadwine. The problem of the syllabic rendering of an interlinear version of the Hebrew is complicated, of course, by the circumstance that Hebrew and Latin must be read in opposite directions; and hardly less so by the fact that, although Hebrew lacks case endings, it is virtually a more "inflected" language than Latin because of its prefixed prepositions and suffixed possessive and objective pronouns. Nevertheless the problem was faced, as in the *Isagoge in Theologiam*, and the word order of the Hebrew has been followed, right to left, through each verse. Each Latin word is written, obviously, from left to right, but it is carefully positioned over the appropriate part of the Hebrew word. Thus:

vr̄is	cordibus	ī
ם כ ב ב ל ב		

We also find, as already noted by Berger and Hirsch, that the untranslatable Hebrew particle **אֵת** which introduces the direct object when definite, is sometimes represented by the abbreviation *ar[ticulus]* — which recalls the use of *σύν*, to render the same particle, to which Aquila's literalism drove him when translating the Hebrew Bible into Greek. It may be further noted that *ar* is sometimes also used to represent the definite article in Hebrew, or a preposition the force of which is representable in Latin by the appropriate case termination. It is interesting to observe that the extreme literalism manifested by the (presumably) Christian glossator(s) of the *superscriptio* finds a parallel in some of the Judaeo-French glosses collected in a closely contemporary dictionary of the Bible in Hebrew characters, now in Paris,<sup>94</sup> in which, for example, **מְעוֹרִי** in Gen. 48.15 (A. V. *all my life long*, literally *from my yet [being]*), is rendered *dés ékors moy (dès encore moi)*.

Berger was of the opinion<sup>95</sup> that the *superscriptio* was little more than an accomodation of the Gallican psalter to the massoretic text; and he thought that the fact that the author should accord such importance to the "authentic" version of the Western Church implied that he was himself a Christian, or rather a Jewish convert to Chris-

<sup>94</sup> MS B. N. Hébreu 302, dated 1240; published by M. Lambert and L. Brandin, *Glossaire Hébreu-Français du xiii<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (1905), see pp. ii, xv, 16, line 51.

<sup>95</sup> *Quam Notitiam, etc.*, pp. 50 f., 53.

tianity. Hirsch<sup>96</sup> sensed that the *superscriptio* is in fact more independent than Berger had realized. The extent of that independence cannot be assessed until all the material has been carefully studied. Berger himself printed<sup>97</sup> a few specimen texts only, including Ps. 1, with a few minor variants. The examples that follow here are taken from the psalter, the whole *superscriptio* version to which has now been transcribed by me. Within the confines of this article a few random specimens must suffice, together with a presentation and explanation of the whole material available for an individual psalm.

I cite first some renderings that are clearly not a mere adaptation of the Latin psalter to the Hebrew, but are based either on rabbinic exegesis or a linguistic appreciation of Hebrew idiom finer than that presupposed in the versions of Jerome. Thus in the title to Ps. 9 (Hebrew על־מות לבן) the *superscriptio* has *super adolescentia filii*: contrast the Gallican *pro occultis filii* (which follows the Septuagint), and the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* which has *pro morte filii* — the latter exegesis being adopted also by the 12th century Jewish commentator Abraham ibn Ezra and also (by implication) in the next generation by David Qimhi. The choice of *adolescentia* reflects the exegesis of Rashi, i. e. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (ob. 1105): עלמות ילדות ("‘Almuth’ means childhood"). Although this derivation of the words from II√עלם = *be youthful, sexually mature*, is shared with the Greek version of Aquila, Theodotion, the Quinta and Sexta,<sup>98</sup> Rashi is the more likely source for the *superscriptio*.

In Ps. 45.3 the first word יְפִיפִיחַ (A. V. *Thou art fairer*) has, as ibn Ezra explains, an intensive force by virtue of the reduplication of the first two radical letters. The desire adequately to express this quantification has given rise to the neologism *speciosissimasti* in C. 10 (cf. MS Longleat *speciosissimus*), C. 11 and Trin. having, less venturesomely, *decorasti*: we may compare the Gallican rendering *speciosus forma*, and that in the *iuxta hebraeos*, *decore pulchrior es*, in which the use of the comparative presupposes similar thought to that behind *speciosissimasti*. Aquila and Symmachus had attempted Greek constructions that should echo the Hebrew, by themselves repeating the appropriate Greek stem, rendering κάλλει ἐκαλλιῶθης (or ἐκαλλωπίσθης) and κάλλει καλὸς εἶ respectively.

In Ps. 68.15 the place name *in Salmon* (בצלמון) has been etymologized in Trin. with the rendering *in-umbra-hostis*, i. e. [ה]בצל מוֹן, as

<sup>96</sup> *Transactions*, p. 10.

<sup>97</sup> *Quam Notitiam*, etc., p. 51.

<sup>98</sup> Ἁ νεανιότητος, Θ Ε' ἀκμῆς, Σ' νεανικότητος: see Field, *Origenis Hexapla* (1875), *in loc.*, and Auctarium, p. 11.

against *in-selmon* (= both the Gallican and the psalter *iuxta hebraeos*) of C. 10. We may note that Theodotion renders by *ἐν σκιᾷ*. I am not familiar with any Jewish exegesis which thus subdivides the name *Salmon*, but such treatment is characteristic of the methodology of the Midrash; one thinks immediately of *בצלאל* (*Bezalel*) being understood (apparently correctly) as being derived from *בצל אל*, *in the shadow of God*.<sup>99</sup> It is just possible that the rendering *in-umbra-hostis* is a variant of a talmudic<sup>100</sup> explanation of *Salmon* as meaning *Gehenna*, because of its assonance with *צלמות* (*šalmaweth*) which, although it strictly means *murky darkness*<sup>101</sup> has been traditionally etymologized since the Septuagint as = *shadow of death*, even the massoretic pointing having been influenced by the recognition in it of such a compound.

One of the most significant passages so far noted is the rendering adopted for Ps. 58.9 חַוּוּ שֶׁמֶשׁ בַּל חֹו אִשָּׁה נָפַל יְהוֹרֵךְ תָּמַס יְהוֹלֹךְ (A. V. *As a snail which melteth, let every one of them pass away: like the untimely birth of a woman, that they may not see the sun*). The R. V. may be taken, for present purposes, as identical). In order to understand the rendering in the *superscriptio* here, it is necessary to examine in brief the versional treatment of the original Hebrew, and the difficulty that it had to face. Professor G. R. Driver has proposed<sup>102</sup> the rendering "like a miscarriage (which) melteth away, (like) the untimely fruit of a woman they see not the sun." This exegesis is based on an assignment to the word *shabbēlul* of the meaning *foetus* which is enjoyed by the corresponding Aramaic form in a passage of the Palestinian Talmud:<sup>103</sup> and it has the merit of making the two hemistichs neatly parallel. The common meaning of *shabbēlul* is, however, *snail*; we may note that in the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* Jerome rendered it by *vermis*, as against *cera* in the Gallican text (= *κηρός* of the Septuagint), while Herbert of Bosham has here *testudo uel uermi*.

The apparent mention of a *snail* in the first hemistich has influenced much Jewish exegesis of the second, where the word *אִשָּׁה* (*'esheth*), *i. e.* *woman*, is anomalously in the construct state. This solecism led the Septuagint to misconstrue it as *אִשָּׁה* (*'isshoth*) *fire[s]*:<sup>104</sup> the LXX was followed by the *Peshitta* and the Gallican psalter, which has *ignis*, as against *mulieris* in the psalter *iuxta hebraeos*. By a similar process

<sup>99</sup> Babylonian Talmud, *Berakhoth* 55a.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 15b.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Arabic *√ ظلم*.

<sup>102</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 34 (1933), pp. 40 f., 44.

<sup>103</sup> *Niddah* III, 3 end; Driver's reference (*op. cit.*, p. 41, note 3) is incorrect.

<sup>104</sup> The same play on words underlies the first explanation in *Midrash Psalms* (אש של גיהנם — *the fire of Gehenna*), ed. S. Buber (1891), f. 150b, § 3.

of suggestive assonance the *Targum* has identified the anomalous 'esheth with the Aramaic word 'eshutha; thus parallelism of the members can be maintained by rendering "As doth creep the snail whose way is slimy (i. e. melting), like an untimely birth and a mole (ואשוחא, we'eshutha) which are blind, and do not see the sun."<sup>105</sup> Similar exegesis is found in *Midrash Psalms*,<sup>106</sup> where the peculiar feature of the 'eshuth is said to be the fact that, could it but see the light, it would be irresistible.<sup>107</sup> A more explicit assertion of its blindness is found in a parallel passage from the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>108</sup> In a third passage<sup>109</sup> it is identified with the *huldah* — a word which, corresponding to the biblical form *holedh*, seems to render indifferently both *mole* and *weasel*.<sup>110</sup>

Any reader of these rabbinic passages might, it is true, gather that in taking 'esheth in Ps. 58.9 as 'eshutha the Jewish exegetes were alluding to a small animal that either does not, or cannot, see; since, however, the word 'eshuth(a) is no commoner a word than is *mole* in any other language, the precise meaning might be expected to have eluded all but an expert talmudist — especially since (from the point of view of modern English folklore, at least), both *bat* and *blindworm* would suit the context as well. We may, therefore, experience some surprise in finding that the *superscriptio* has identified it correctly, and renders the verse (in Trin.): *Sicut testudo tabescens eundo abortiuum talpe non indicant solem*.<sup>111</sup> Similarly, Herbert of Bosham renders: *Quasi testudo uel uermi tabefactus pertranseant: quasi talpa que non (uel abortiuum mulieris quod non) uidit solem*.

For the "correct" identification of *shabbēlul* [snail] *limax* (so C. 11), and 'esheth > 'eshutha [mole] *talpa*, Herbert and the author(s)

<sup>105</sup> הֵךְ זָחִיל חֵיבֶלְלָא דִּי מַאִים אֹרְחִיָּה הֵךְ נְפֹלָא וְאִשְׁוּחָא דִּי סָמִין וְלֹא חָמוֹן שְׁמֵשׁ.

<sup>106</sup> Ed. Buber, *ibid.*, § 4, and parallels cited by Buber in his note 23; to which add *Genesis Rabbah* § 51, *init.*

<sup>107</sup> הָאִשְׁוּת אֶלְמֵלָא רֹאֵה אֹר אֵין כָּל בְּרִיָּה יִכְוֹלִין לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי.

<sup>108</sup> *Mo'ed Kaṭon* 6b.

<sup>109</sup> Palestinian Talmud, *Mo'ed Kaṭon* I, 4 (80c).

<sup>110</sup> The Oxford *Hebrew Lexicon* (ed. Brown-Driver-Briggs, 1906) renders *holedh* as *weasel*, but compares the Arabic حُلْدٌ (*huldun*) = *mole*, *blind-rat*, or a species of rat. L. Koehler (*Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1949), has *mole-rat*, *Spalax Ehrenbergi*. E. ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis* (vol. 3, p. 1556) assembles a number of rabbinic passages but himself offers no rendering. These passages mostly suggest an animal that preys on small birds, carrion, etc., such as a weasel or perhaps a rat, but some of them mention the *huldah* alongside the עֶכְבוֹר (= *mouse* or *rat*). Rashi on Lev. 11.29 renders *holedh* by *mustela* (= *Vulgate in loc.*).

<sup>111</sup> Variants: for *testudo*, C. 11 *limax*: *ibid.*, *tabescans*: for *eundo*, C. 10 *eat*, C. 11 *ibit*: C. 10, C. 11 *abortiuus*: for *indicant*, C. 10 *uideant*, C. 11, *uiderunt*.

of the *superscriptio* are under an obligation to Rashi. His comment to the verse runs thus:

"*shabbēlul*: some explain it as *limage* (לִמְצָא)<sup>112</sup> in the vernacular . . . . .  
*nephel 'esheth*: *talpe* (טַלְפָּה)<sup>113</sup> in the vernacular; this has no eyes, and is identical with the *tinshameth*,<sup>114</sup> (Lev. 11.30), which is rendered by the *Targum* as '*eshutha*."

The influence of Rashi on Christian biblical exegesis has long been recognized, and it is now established that that influence was operative long before Nicholas of Lyre in the 14th century. But as far as I know, no case has hitherto been recorded of Latin terminology having been introduced into Christian exegesis through the medium of vernacular glosses in a *Hebrew* commentary that was intended to serve Jewish needs.

We may round off this sketch of the *superscriptio* as far as it concerns the psalter by setting out all the material available in the above mentioned MSS for the fourth psalm. It is convenient to deal separately with the Leiden Psalter (henceforth Sca[liger]), as it contains merely a modified form of Jerome's psalter *iuxta hebraeos* and selections from the *Breviarium in Psalmos* attributed to him; variations from the text of these are accordingly first displayed.<sup>115</sup> Of the remaining MSS, two — that at Longleat House (cited as Sp[elman]) and that at Paris (P) — contain both a *superscriptio* and marginal comment: but in the interests of clarity I have separated the two, as far as is practicable, and print first a critical text of the *superscriptio*, taking as a basis the text of MS Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 8.6 (Trin.). Variants are cited thus: C[orpus Christi College, Oxford] 10 and 11, Sp. and P. The abbreviation *alt[ernative]* in the *apparatus criticus* indicates an alternative reading *not* introduced by *vel* in the MSS; and J<sup>h</sup> followed by a further *siglum* indicates a variant reading to Jerome's psalter *iuxta hebraeos* as cited in Harden's edition.<sup>116</sup> Omissions in the Paris MS,

<sup>112</sup> See A. Darmesteter, *Les Gloses Françaises de Raschi dans la Bible* (1909), pp. 29, 109.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, also p. 61.

<sup>114</sup> The meaning of this is quite dubious. L. Koehler, *Lexicon* (see note 110) identifies it with the *chameleon* in Lev., *loc. cit.*, but in other passages it is clearly a bird (Koehler, *white owl*, *tyto alba*).

<sup>115</sup> I have to thank Dr. G. Lieftinck, of the University Library, Leiden, for supplying me with a microfilm of MS Scaliger; also the Council, and the Librarian, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and likewise of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for having deposited their MSS for my convenience in the University Library, Cambridge; and the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bath and his Librarian, Miss D. Coates, for depositing the Longleat MS for me in the Brotherton Library at Leeds University.

<sup>116</sup> *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*, by J. M. Harden (1922).



which contains excerpts only from the *superscriptio*, are not indicated in the apparatus. Hyphenated words, in both the text and the apparatus, correspond to a single word of the Hebrew original, and as explained above (p. 226) have been generally so inserted in the MSS as to correspond with it syllabically. Words in *italic* type correspond with neither the renderings of the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* (J<sup>h</sup>) nor the Gallican psalter (J<sup>g</sup>). Figures in brackets ( ) indicate the verse division of the Hebrew original.

I *Text of Latin version of Ps. 4 in the Leiden Psalter*  
(MS Scaliger Heb. 8 = cod. orientalis 4725)

*Note:* where the text of the MS is identical with Harden's text of the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* it is not printed here in full, but is indicated by dots (. . .).

- (1) Victori in psalmis *cantici* dauid. (2) Cum *inuocauero*  
uel *honor meus*  
. . . . . miserere mei et *audi* . . . . (3) . . . . usque quo *gloria mea*  
*ad ignominiam?* *diligentes* . . . (4) Et scitote quoniam *segregauit*  
dominus *misericordem* suum; dominus *audiet* cum *inuocauero*  
5 *ad eum*. (5) *Expauescimini* et *ne peccetis*. *dicite* . . . .  
*et* super cubilia uestra et tacete. uel compungimini.  
uel *laudate*. semper. (6) Sacrificate *sacrificia* . . . . .  
(7) . . . *signa* super nos lumen . . . . (8) [ + + + ] *A tempore*  
*frumentum eorum* . . . . (9) . . . . simul *cubabo* et dormiam.  
10 quoniam . . . specialiter in spe habitare fecisti me.

---

1 *cantici* J<sup>h</sup>EH; Harden canticum] Cum *inuocauero*: J<sup>h</sup> Invocante me, J<sup>g</sup> Cum invocarem] 2 *audi*: J<sup>g</sup> exaudi] *gloria mea, honor meus*: J<sup>h</sup> incliti mei, J<sup>g</sup> gravi corde] 3 *ad ignominiam*: J<sup>h</sup> ignominiose, J<sup>g</sup> *aliter*] *diligentes*: J<sup>h</sup> diligitis] scitote J<sup>g</sup>; J<sup>h</sup> cognoscite] *segregauit*: J<sup>h</sup> mirabilem reddidit, J<sup>g</sup> mirificavit] 4 *misericordem*: J<sup>h</sup> sanctum] *audiet*: J<sup>h</sup> exaudiet] *inuocauero*: J<sup>h</sup> clamavero] 5 *Expauescimini*: J<sup>h</sup> Irascimini] *ne peccetis*: J<sup>h</sup> nolite peccare] *dicite*: J<sup>h</sup> loquimini, J<sup>g</sup> quae dicitis] 6 *et* super (= MS heb. לַיְלָה): J<sup>h</sup> om. et, ut heb. *textus mass.*] tacete, J<sup>h</sup>; compungimini, J<sup>g</sup>] 7 *sacrificia*: J<sup>h</sup> sacrificium] 8 *signa*: J<sup>h</sup> leva, J<sup>g</sup> signatum est] lumen J<sup>g</sup>; J<sup>h</sup> lucem] + + + *vacat* in MS; J<sup>h</sup> Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo] *A tempore* (MS t̄pr) J<sup>h</sup>C; Harden in tempore, J<sup>g</sup> a fructu] 9 *cubabo*: J<sup>h</sup> requiescam, J<sup>g</sup> dormiam] 10 in spe J<sup>g</sup>; J<sup>h</sup> securum]



Of the variants from J<sup>h</sup> in MS Sca. 3 only (*scitote*, v. 4, *lumen*, v. 7 and *in spe* v. 9) are Gallicanisms — to which must be added also the alternative *compungimini* in v. 5. In addition, *Cum inuocauero* v. 2, *dicite* v. 5, *signa* v. 7, and *A tempore* v. 8, have probably been partly influenced by the renderings in the Gallican psalter; but both *A tempore* (Hebrew מַעַת) and *signa* (so *superscriptio*, see p. 235) seem to have been selected as more accurate renderings of the Hebrew than those in J<sup>s</sup> or J<sup>h</sup> (נִסָּה in v. 7 being regarded not as an unusual form of אֶשֶׁא[נ] = *leva* (J<sup>h</sup>), but as a denominative verb from נִסָּ = *banner*, *sign*).

The desire for maximum accuracy also underlies the following renderings:

- v. 3 (a) *gloria mea, honor meus* (cf. *superscriptio*, p. 235), Hebrew כְּבוֹדִי.  
 (b) *ad ignominiam*, Hebrew לְכַלְמָה.  
 v. 4 (c) *segregauit* (cf. *superscriptio* (MSS) *separauit*). The massoretic text of the Hebrew, as printed by F. Buhl in R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*<sup>3</sup> has הִפְלָה = *made distinct*; but Buhl notes that many Hebrew MSS read, as does Sca., הִפְלָא = *mirabilem reddidit* (J<sup>h</sup>). One can scarcely dogmatize as to the relative merits of the latter and of *segregauit* as renderings of the Hebrew, since the root פֿלֵה is but a bye-form of פֿלֵא (cf. the *marginalia* in MSS Lambeth and Oxford, p. 238).  
 v. 5 (d) *et ne peccetis* (cf. *superscriptio*), Hebrew וְאַל תַּחֲטְאוּ.  
 (e) *et super*, etc. The Hebrew text of Sca. likewise adds the copula (וְעַל) incorrectly.  
 v. 6 (f) *sacrificia* (cf. *superscriptio*), Hebrew זִבְחֵי.  
 v. 8 (g) *+eorum*, Hebrew דְּנוֹנָם (the possessive suffix being attached to each of the substantives in the context).  
 v. 9 (h) *cubabo* (cf. *superscriptio*), Hebrew אֶשְׁכְּבָה. The future indicative is retained to represent the Hebrew cohortative, since this may express resolution here.<sup>117</sup>

In v. 4 the change *clamauero* > *inuocauero* is for the sake of consistency with v. 2, since the Hebrew has בִּקְרָאִי in both cases. The change *sanctum* > *misericordem* (cf. *superscriptio*) is because the Hebrew חַסִּיד is construed (legitimately) as *one who acts in a kindly, saintly manner*, rather than one who is viewed objectively as a *saint*.

In v. 3 *diligentes* is probably a corruption influenced by the following *quaerentes*, since *diligentes* is itself out of construction in Latin and the Hebrew has a finite verb.

<sup>117</sup> Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, ed. Kautzsch-Cowley (1910), § 108b (a).

The alternative *laudate* for דמו (v. 5) may perhaps have been suggested by the use of the noun דמיה (√דום, a bye-form of √דמם) in Ps. 65.2, לך דמיה חהלה, J<sup>h</sup> *Tibi silens laus* (J<sup>g</sup> *Te decet hymnus*).

The most interesting variant, however, that is offered by Sca. in its text of J<sup>h</sup> is *Expavescimini* for *Irascimini* in v. 5, where the Hebrew has רנו. √רנו means *to be in a state of agitation* — and, as applied to human emotions, to be agitated by *terror, grief, or rage*. If we recognize *rage* as the meaning here with J<sup>g</sup> *Irascimini* (cf. Septuagint ὀργίζεσθε, Symmachus ὀργίσθητε), the continuation compels us to treat the Hebrew imperative as a concessive,<sup>118</sup> and to render the following copula adversatively (*yet sin not*). It is probably easier to recognize rather the meaning *quake in fear*, which is the sense which the verb enjoys in e. g. Hab. 3.7; and this is the exegesis favored by the paraphrase in the *Targum*, ועו מיניה, *quake because of Him* (i. e. God; less probably, David). It is endorsed by the Jewish commentators Rashi, Abraham ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi, but the latter lived too late (1160–1235) for his commentary to have been before the glossator of this MS. Of the other ancient versions, the only one which calls for notice here is Aquila's rendering κλονεῖσθε, *be ye agitated*. Quite typically, this expresses the literal, i. e. physical meaning of the Hebrew רנו without any implications as to the psychological background postulated by the context.

The Latin *expavere* or *expavescere* occurs 14 times in the Vulgate (including Apocrypha and New Testament) for the Hebrew √חדר (= *tremble, fear*) and synonyms, though not, as it happens, for √רנו as used here; it does, however stand for this root in the Old Latin at Hab. 3.7 where, as has been stated, *quaking from fear* is the meaning (metaphorically) implied. But in Ps. 4 the Old Latin has *irascimini*, following the Septuagint; so that it is most probable that *expavescimini* in Sca. is dependent upon the Jewish sources mentioned, most likely the commentary of Rashi.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, § 110a, f.

II *Excerpts from Jerome's Commentariolus to Ps. 4*  
*found in MS Scaliger*

These excerpts are reproduced because MSS of Jerome's *Commentarioli* are sufficiently uncommon for the text of Sca. to be of possible significance.

Sca. omits the *lemmata* generally, as well as some other matter, as a comparison with the text of the *Commentariolus*<sup>119</sup> or the *Breviarium in Psalmos*<sup>120</sup> will show. Variant readings, etc., are recorded here in the notes, but are of no great interest.

- Totus psalmus ad xpistum, et per eum<sup>121</sup> ad iustos referendus est.
- v. 2 In tribulatione di. mi. mi. mei et ex.<sup>122</sup> orationem m. licet mihi auxilium tulis; tamen ego misericordia tua semper indigeo.
- v. 3 Verbum סֵלָה (*sic*);<sup>123</sup> lxx, simachus,<sup>124</sup> teodotio, diapsalma translulare.<sup>125</sup> aquila uero semper. et puto aut musici cuiusdam soni esse signaculum; aut certe perpuitatem eorum que predicta sunt indicari.
- v. 5 Quod in die cogitando peccatis; nocte per lacrimas expiate.<sup>126</sup>
- v. 6 Sacrificium deo immolate iusticiam, et consequenter sperabitis in domino.
- v. 7 In cuius facie lumen domini signatum est, iste facie reuelata<sup>127</sup> gloriam domini contemplatur. Tale signum et in gementium frontibus in libro ezechielis<sup>128</sup> dominus notari precepit.

<sup>119</sup> Ed. G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. 3, i (1895), pp. 11 f.

<sup>120</sup> P. L. vol. 26, 877.

<sup>121</sup> *Commentariolus* (henceforth *Comm.*) and *Breviarium* (henceforth *Brev.*), *Christum*.

<sup>122</sup> Note that the Latin psalter text in the MS reads *audi: exaudi* = Jg<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> *Comm.* and *Brev.* spell in Latin characters, SELA. The Hebrew here appears to be a different hand from that of the Hebrew psalter in the MS (or merely a different pen?), although the anomalous pointing is the same in both.

<sup>124</sup> Thus spelled also in Morin's MS C of the *Commentarioli* (MS Grenoble 218, saec. xii).

<sup>125</sup> *Comm.*, *Brev.*, *transtulerunt*.

<sup>126</sup> *Comm.*, *Brev.*, *expiate per lacrimas*.

<sup>127</sup> *Comm.*, *Brev.*, *revelata facie*.

<sup>128</sup> *Comm.*, *Brev.* + *prophetarum*.

III *Critical text of the superscriptio for Ps. 4<sup>128a</sup>*

The text here shown is that of MS Trin. For the *sigla*, see above, p. 230. Renderings printed in *italic* type differ from both the Gallican psalter and the psalter *iuxta hebraeos*.

- +++ in-organis\* *Cantus* dauid (2) *In-uocatione-mea\**  
*responde* dominus iusticie-mee in-angustia dilatasti  
 mihi miserere-mei et-exaudi oracionem-meam (3) filii  
 hominis usque quo *honor-meus ad-erubescenciam dili-*  
 5 *getis inane queretis mendacium in-seculum* (4) Et-  
 scitote *quia* mirificauit dominus *misericordem sibi*  
 dominus exaudiet *in-uocatione-mea* ad-eum (5) *Irascamini*  
*et-ne peccetis dicite* in-cordibus-uestris super cubilia-  
 10 *uestra et-tacete in-seculum* (6) Sacrificate *sacrificia*  
*iusticie et-confidite* in-domino (7) Multi dicunt quis  
 ostendit-nobis bonum *signa* super-nos lumen *uultus-tui*  
*deus* (8) Dedisti leticiam in-corde-meo a-tempore  
*bladum-eorum et-mustum-eorum multiplicarunt* (9) In-pace  
 simul *cubabo* et-dormiam quoniam tu *deus solus-tu*  
 15 *in-confidencia sedificabis-me*.

I +++ Trin. vacat, Sp. ar-uictori, alt. in-finem; P *efforcement*] *Cantus*: Sp. can-  
 ticum] *uocatione*: C 11 P *inuocatione*] 2 *responde*: C 10 Sp. P+mihi] in-angustia:  
 Sp. tribulacione eb angustia, P en anguse] dilatasti: P *ellargis* 3 miserere: P *piete*] *exaudi*: P *audi*] *oracionem*: Sp. +alt. *petere*, P *precationem*] 4 quo: P *quando*] *ad-erubescenciam*: P *auergoine*] *diligetis*: P *amerez* 5 *inane*: Sp. + uel *uacuitatem*  
 uel *cassum*] *queretis*: P *querez*] *in-seculum*: Sp. semper, alt. *in-seculum*] 6 *mirificauit*:  
 P *separauit*, Sp. *mirificabil* (*sic*) uel *separauit*] *misericordem*: P *buutable*] *sibi*: C 10  
 suum, Sp. suum uel *sibi*] 7 dominus: Sp. dñs, alt. ds] *exaudiet*: P *audiet*] *in-uocatione-*  
*mea*: P *quando uocabo*] *Irascamini*: Sp. *irascimini* uel *conturbemini*, P *entrem* [en]tisez]  
 8 *peccetis*: P *peccabitis*] 9 *in-seculum*: Sp. semper, alt. *in-seculum*] Sacrificate:  
 P *sacrifiez*] *sacrificia*: P *sacrifice*] 10 *iusticie*: P *de iuste*] *confidite*: Sp. + alt.  
*secreescite*, P *fidite* (J<sup>b</sup> *fidite*)] in-domino: C 10 Sp. *ad-dominum*, Sp. + uel in  
 domino] Multi: C 10 magni, P *salis*] dicunt: P *dicentes*] 11 ostendit: Sp. *ostendet*,  
 P *uidere faciet*] *signa*: Sp. + uel [e]xalta, P *aperceia-nos uel eleua*] lumen: P *lucem*] *uultus*:  
 Sp. + uel *faciei*] 12 *deus*: Sp. domine, alt. *deus*] *leticiam*: P *gaudium*] a: sic J<sup>b</sup> C; P *de*] 13 *bladum*: P *blado*] *eorum* 1<sup>o</sup> om. C 10] *mustum*: P *musto*] *multi-*  
*plicarunt*: Sp. + uel *multiplicauerunt*; P *creuerunt*] 14 simul: P *pariter*, Sp. + uel  
*pariter*] *deus*: Sp. domine] *solus*: P + *id est per se*] *tu*: om. Sp.] 15 *in-confidencia*:  
 P *secure*] *sedificabis*: P *fac sedere*]

\* It may be noted that the only quotations from the *superscriptio* (i. e. "Judeus") in C 11 are v. 1 in *organis* and v. 2 in *inuocatione mea*.

<sup>128a</sup> A critical edition of the *superscriptio* to the whole psalter, on which I am working, is now in an advanced stage of preparation.

We may classify the renderings here adopted that differ from both the Gallican psalter and the psalter *iuxta hebraeos* as follows.

[a] *Minor variants*. These changes seem to have been introduced with the object of representing as closely as possible the accidence of the individual Hebrew words, without regard to their syntax or idiom.

v. 3 *hominis* (J<sup>g</sup> *hominum*, J<sup>h</sup> *virī*).

diligetis (J<sup>g</sup> *diligitis*), queretis (J<sup>g</sup> *quaeritis*, J<sup>h</sup> *quaerentes*).

v. 5 *et-ne* (cf. Sca., p. 231; J<sup>g</sup> *nolite*).

v. 6 *sacrificia* (cf. Sca; J<sup>g</sup> *sacrificium*).

v. 7 *ostendet* (so Sp; MSS = J<sup>g</sup> *ostendit*).

[b] *Bolder changes*. These have been occasioned by the desire to represent as closely as possible either the mode of speech characteristic of Hebrew, or the essential meaning of the Hebrew root rendered, or even its semantic affinities. Thus *in-uocatione-mea* = בקראי, v. 2.

With *conturbemini* (Sp.) in v. 5 for רגזו (*be agitated*) we may contrast *expauescimini* in Sca. (see p. 233).

*Securescite* (Sp.) in v. 6 is a neologism (I cannot find the verb recorded in the usual reference books) coined as a rendering of בטחו (*trust ye*), in order to point to the verb's connection with the abstract noun בטח, *security*.

With *bladum* (*grain, wheat*) in v. 8 may be compared the gloss *fructum gal[lice] ble* in Bodleian MS Or. 621 (see pp. 241, 250).

Of these variants from J<sup>h</sup> and J<sup>g</sup>, it may be noted that the following agree with those of Herbert of Bosham's psalter: v. 1 *organis*, v. 4 *misericordem*, v. 8 *mustum*. With the *superscriptio* to v. 5, cf. Herbert *et non peccetis uel peccabitis*, and with v. 7 cf. Herbert *quod est quasi signum leua*.

The French glosses superscribed in P and recorded in the *apparatus* are considered below, p. 245 f.

#### IV *Marginalia to Ps. 4*

The following *sigla* are used:

<sup>1</sup> Sp. = MS Longleat; L = MS Lambeth 435; O = MS Bodleian Or. 621.<sup>129</sup>

As pointed out above,<sup>130</sup> the main gloss in C 11 seems to be connected with Nicholas Triveth, and apart from its citations from the *superscriptio* it does not concern the 13th century; it is therefore not

<sup>129</sup> See pp. 221 f. for details of these MSS.

<sup>130</sup> See p. 220.

reproduced here. The *marginalia* in P consist, as far as Ps. 4 is concerned, of quotations from the psalter *iuxta hebraeos*; the text offers minor variants only,<sup>131</sup> and is consequently not printed here.

*Italic* type, as before, indicates renderings independent of J<sup>s</sup> and J<sup>h</sup>.

i>

French glosses, although transcribed here, are left without comment as they are treated below, p. 245 f.

The Hebrew punctuation of the MSS (*i.e.* the Hebrew in the *marginalia*, not the main text of the psalter) is reproduced, without its aberrancy being pointed out in each case.

Material available from the three MSS is placed side by side on successive verses, interspersed by explanatory matter in square brackets [ ].

Verse 2.

L (on עניי) *responde mihi*  
[=*superscriptio*]

Verse 3.

O, L (on לכלמה) *pudori*  
O (i) כלם *reuerencia uel erubescencia*  
[*erub.* = *superscriptio*]  
(ii) כלם *reuerencia uel erubescencia unde hic*  
*et ibi indicantur confusione et reuerencia*  
[the feminine noun כלמה used in this  
Psalm = *reproach, ignominy*; there is no  
corresponding masculine to which כלם  
might be an approximation, nor is the  
verbal stem used in the *pi'el*, which  
would be כלם.]  
Sp. לכלימה eḇ gal[lice] *uerguine* ut ez xxvi [Ezek.  
36.32] הכלמי quod est erubesci[te] ubi dicitur  
confundimini et erubescite super uis uestris  
habemus graui corde ut quid quoniam כבדי  
est graue et לב est cor et לי est ut et מה est  
quid unde totum *cebodi libe li mah* est graui  
corde ut quid sed eḇ non scribit libe per  
bet sed per caf unde habent *likelima* quod est  
erubescientiam

<sup>131</sup> V. 2 *Inuocantem me* (=Harden's MSS BCEHRT, also Lagarde's text), also *Cum inuocarem* (=J<sup>s</sup>); v. 3 *uauitatem* (an error for *uanitatem*; at least, there is no other evidence for a reading *uacuitatem*); v. 5 om. *et 2°* (=Harden's AEHR); v. 8 *frumenti et uinum eorum*.



[קְבוּרָה = *my honour*; the Latin *grave* = קָבֵר.]

As this gloss correctly indicates, J<sup>s</sup> implies a different (and inferior) Hebrew text by its rendering *usque quo gravi corde? ut quid, etc.*, and follows the Septuagintal text, ἕως πότε βαρυκάρδιοι; ἵνα τί: i. e. (or מַחִי) עַד מָה כְּבֹדִי לֵב לָמָּה [עַד מָה כְּבוֹדִי לְכַלְמָה].]

Sp. (on רִיק) deuter xxxii [Deut. 32.47] רִיק quod est [cas]sum ubi dicitur quia [non] in cassum precepta sunt [u]obis

[The massoretic text in Ps. 4.3 has the abstract noun רִיק, *emptiness*, as does the Hebrew text in Sp; but possibly the pointing רִיק is preferable, making the word, as in Deut., *loc. cit.*, an adjective — *an empty (thing).*]

#### Verse 4.

L. (on הַפְלָה) *separabit*

[=*superscriptio* P and Sp., but in those MSS in the perfect. The Hebrew verb is in the perfect, but the future *separabit* may imply that the glossator construed the Hebrew tense as a perfect of *certain assurance*.<sup>132</sup>]

O. (on הַפְלָה) פָּלַל *mirificauit* פָּלַל *iudicauit deprecatur*

[הַפְלָה, as used here, is from √פָּלַח = *be separated*, and is best rendered *has singled out* — cf. *separauit* (P, Sp. etc.) and Herbert of Bosham's *segregatum reddidit*. The bye-form √פָּלַח generally enjoys, in usage, the meaning *be surpassing, extraordinary* (cf. p. 232). The *pi'el* form of it, as cited here by O, does not mean *mirificauit* (which would be the *hiph'il*, הַפְלִיא), but in the three instances where it occurs means *to make [a] special [votive offering]*.

√פָּלַל, which is here juxtaposed, = *iudicauit* in the *pi'el*, but *deprecatur* would represent the *hithpa'el* (הִתְפַּלֵּל).]

<sup>132</sup> Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* (see note 117), § 106n.

ix

Sp. [ex] viiii [Ex. 9.4] הִפְלֵא quod est faci[et]  
mirabile inter [po]sessiones

[Ex., *loc. cit.*, reads in the massoretic text הִפְלֵא as in the massoretic text of Ps. 4.4, and must therefore be translated *shall distinguish [between]*, and not *faciet mirabile* (so the Vulgate); which is, however, an adequate rendering of the variant reading הִפְלֵא of Sp. in both the margin and the Hebrew text. (But see p. 232).]

L. (on חסיד) *misericordem* suum gal[lice] meselicord' ac si diceret probum hominem suum

[*mis.* = *superscriptio*.]

The paraphrase of חסיד (*saint, kindly one*) by *probum* is due either to the rendering (*meritorious one*) adopted here by the *Targum*,<sup>132a</sup> or to Kimhi's comment — "*one who deals magnanimously with his fellows, exacting from them less than his legal rights.*"<sup>133</sup>

Sp. iij R. viii [I Kings 8.23] [pactu]m et misericordia[m] seruis tuis

[The Hebrew for this verse — the reason for the citation of which eludes me — has not חסיד = *misericordem*, but the abstract חסד.]

### Verse 5.

Sp. (on רגזו) can[tico] exodi [Ex. 15.14] יִרְגְּזוּן quod est irati sunt ubi dicitur ascendunt populi et irati sunt

[*Ascendunt*, which does not render the Hebrew שמעו = *they heard*, is emended in the new Benedictine edition of the Vulgate<sup>134</sup> to *attenderunt*.]

L. (on ואל) et non  
[cf. *superscriptio et-ne.*]

(on על) super  
[= J<sup>h</sup>.]

<sup>132a</sup> זכאה.

<sup>133</sup> והוא מי שעושה טובה עם חביריו לפנים משורת הדין.

<sup>134</sup> *Exodus*, ed. H. Quentin, 1929.

- L, O (on ודמו) tacete  
[= J<sup>h</sup>.]  
O (on ודמו) דמה tacuit putauit

[The form דמו here used (= *be silent*) is the imperative pl. *kal* of דמם; *putauit* corresponds to the perfect sing. *pi'el* of דמה (דמה).]

The juxtaposition of *tacuit* and *putauit* is, however, not necessarily to be regarded as a mistake by the glossator; it is doubtless dependent upon Menaḥem ibn Saruḡ's *Mahbereth*,<sup>135</sup> or Hebrew lexicon, which is arranged according to a biliteral classification of Hebrew roots. דמם = *be silent* is here placed as the second heading, and דמה *pi'el* = *think* as the fifth, of the biliteral stem דמ.

#### Verse 6.

- Sp. (on ובטחו) *secretescete* ut ys xxxii [Isa. 32.17] *securitas* usque in sempiternum

[In Isa., *loc. cit.*, the Hebrew has the abstract בטח. On *secretescete* see p. 236.]

#### Verse 7.

- L (on נסה) uerz. vexillum uel pertica *necha enperchez* vexillum נס in נסה

[The last 4 words are in a later hand; the remainder, though clearly written, is obscure.]

On the transliteration *necha* see p. 244.

For the treatment of נסה as a denominative verb from נס = *banner* (so Rashi's commentary here) rather than as an unusual spelling for ש[נ] = *lift up*, cf. *superscriptio* and Sca. (see p. 232).]

- O *perleua* uel *uexilla*

[With *per*. cf. *superscriptio* in Sp., *eleua*.]

- Sp. ex xvii [Ex. 17.15] נסה quod est exaltacio ubi dicitur dominus exaltacio mea In numeris xxi [Numb. 21.9] quod est signum ubi dicitur fecit ergo moises serpentem eneam pro signo

<sup>135</sup> Ed. H. Filipowski (1854), pp. 64 f.

[נסי in Ex., *loc. cit.*, means *my banner*; the Vulgate rendering *exaltatio* apparently confuses it with  $\sqrt{\text{נשא}}$  = *lift up*. In Num., *loc. cit.*, the word enjoys (uniquely in the Bible) its post-biblical sense of *sign, i. e. warning*.]

L (on אור) *claritas*

Verse 8.

Sp. (on מעת) uel a tempore quo *fruges et mustum* e[orum] multiplicarunt pro [תירוש] dicit eb[re]us ubique mustum ut pro ii [Prov. 3.10] musto t[or]cularia [tua] ad torcular[ia] proprie m[a]gis spectatur mustum quam uinum

[*uel* connects with the rendering in the *superscriptio* of Sp.]

The observation that תירוש = *new wine* is correct.]

L ethz tempus

[For this and other transliterations in the *marginalia*, see p. 243 f.]

Sp. (on דגנם) habemus frumenti ut jer xxxi [Jer. 31.12] super frumento uino et oleo sed ibi et hic dic[it] heb[reus] *fruges gal[lice] ble*

[With *ble* cf. *superscriptio bladum*.]

L diganam *bladum* dicitur

O fructum gal[lice] *ble*

L (on ותירושם) chirosham *mustum* eorum

O *mustum* eorum

[Cf. Sp. on מעת in this verse, *supra*.]

L (on רבו) (i) *accreuerunt*

[Cf. *superscriptio* P, *creuerunt*]

(ii) Rabu reva lucrum rebiz incrementum gall[ice] *gable* rabu ebr. *acruent* gall[ice] [The Hebrew word רבו (*rabbu*) here used is from  $\sqrt{\text{רבב}}$  = *be* or *become much*, whence, in post-biblical Hebrew, is derived רבית (*ribbith*) = *interest*; the biblical equivalent for this is תרבית (*tarbith*), from the parallel  $\sqrt{\text{רבה}}$ , but no word approximating to *reva* is known to me from either root.]

## Verse 9.

- L (on יחדיו) *insimul*  
[Cf. J<sup>h</sup>.]  
(on אשכבה) *et dormiam*  
[אשכבה = *I will lie down*; *et dormiam* is the translation of the following ואישן, but has been inserted over the wrong word.]
- Sp. (on ואישן = *ut ec v* [Eccl. 5.11] *saturitas diuitis non sinit eum dormire* [In Eccl., *loc. cit.*, וישן is also used.]  
*and I will sleep*)
- O (on לבדך) בך *solus*  
[*Solus* = *superscriptio*.]
- L (on בטח) betha *affidencia dicitur*  
[With *affidencia* cf. *superscriptio confidencia*. For the (incorrect) transcription *betha*, see p. 245.]
- Sp. uel in *securitate* ut pro xi [Prov. 11.28] בטח  
qui confidit ubi dicitur qui confidunt in  
diuiciis suis corruent in pro xiii [Prov. 14.26]  
מִבְטָח quod est fiducia ubi dicimus in timore  
domini fiducia fortitudinis  
[uel in *sec.* connects with the *superscriptio*  
in Sp., *confidencia*; with *securitate* cf. J<sup>h</sup> *securum*, *superscriptio* P *secure*. cf. verse 6, ובטחו, p. 240.]
- In Prov. 11.28 the Vulgate has singular.  
as Hebrew.]

## V Transliterations of words in Ps. 4

Unless specified, transliterations are cited from C 10; those from Lambeth 435 and Longleat 21 are marked L or Sp.

verse no.	Hebrew	Conventional transliteration	Phonetic transliteration	MS transliteration
3	כבודי	k <sup>ə</sup> bhōdhī	k <sup>ə</sup> βo:'ðī:	cebodi (Sp.)
	לכלמה	lik <sup>ə</sup> limmāh	,lixlim'n a:	likelima (Sp.)
	תאהבון	tæ 'æhāwūn	,tæ?æha: 'βu:n	tehauun

verse no.	Hebrew	Conventional transliteration	Phonetic transliteration	MS transliteration
4	הפלה	hifláh	hiɸ'la:	hifela
5	בלבבכם	bil <sup>e</sup> bhabh <sup>e</sup> khém	,bilβaβ'xem	[bile]uauechem (?)
	משכבכם	mishkabh <sup>e</sup> khém	,miʃkaβ'xem	miskauchem (?)
6	זבחו	zibhḥū	ziβ'ḥu:	[ziu]hu
7	אמרים	'ôm <sup>e</sup> rím	,ʔo:m <sup>e</sup> r'i:m	omrim
	נסה	n <sup>e</sup> sáh	n <sup>e</sup> 'sa:	necha (L)
	פניך	pānæ'khā	pa:'ne:xa:	panekha
8	שמחה	simḥáh	sim'ḥa:	simha
	עת	'éth	ʒe:θ	ethz (L)
	דגנם	d <sup>e</sup> ghānām	d <sup>e</sup> ɣa:'na:m	diganam (L)
	חירושם	thīrōshām	,θi:ro:'ʃa:m	chirocham (L)
	רבו	rābbū	'ra:bbu:	Rabu (L)
	[רבית]	ribbīth	rib'biθ	rebiz (L)
9	יחדיו	yaḥdāw	jaḥdaɥ	iaheude (?)
	בטה	bhætah	'betah	betha (L)
	תושיבני	tōshībhénī	,to:ʃi:'βe:ni:	tousiueni

For general observations with regard to the transliterations in C 10, see p. 216 f.

### Verse 3.

*cebodi*. Sp. here uses *d* for  $\bar{\gamma}$ ; contrast  $\dot{\gamma}$  in C. 10 (e. g. *likeḡoushim*, p. 216). *c* here represents כ, although the same MS uses *k* for כ in the next word, *likelima*. Jerome transliterates the absolute form of this word as *chabod*<sup>136</sup> and *caboth*.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup> On Isa. 11.10, P. L. vol. 24, 152D; Sperber, *op. cit.* (see note 55), p. 230.

<sup>137</sup> *Onomastica Sacra, Escaboth*, ed. Lagarde (1870), p. 35, l. 13; Sperber, *loc. cit.*



*likelima*. Final ה, used conventionally as a *mater lectionis* to indicate the long vowel *a*, is not transliterated.

*tehaun*. The apparent syncope of the first two syllables into *teh* is probably a scribal error for *teeh*. Jerome sometimes utilized *h* as a symbol to indicate that two vowels otherwise juxtaposed in transcription should be pronounced separately — e. g. *Israhel*;<sup>138</sup> but contrast *eebor* for אֶבֶר in Amos 5.17.<sup>139</sup>

#### Verse 4.

*hifela*. *e* either represents the *silent shewa* that indicates that ה is vowelless, or mistakes it for a *vocal shewa* (ə); contrast εφλι for הַפְּלִיָּה in the second column of Origen's *Hexapla* at Ps. 31.22.<sup>140</sup> The final mute ה (so MS) is unrepresented (cf. *likelima*, v. 3).

#### Verse 5.

*miskauchem* (?). For *s*=ש, cf. *safteni* Ps. 7.9 (p. 218). *k* here represents כ, although the same MS (C 10) uses it for ק, e. g. *hakisouthi*, Ps. 3.6 (p. 217). Jerome used *c* for ק, and *ch* (occasionally *c*) for כ.

#### Verse 7.

*omrim*. The *vocal shewa* (ə) separating the two closed syllables is neglected; contrast an analogous form transliterated by Jerome as *mosechim* (מֹשְׁכִים).<sup>141</sup> Yet the same glossator has indicated the *vocal shewa* elsewhere, e. g. *likezoushim*, Ps. 16.3 (p. 218).

*necha*. The use of *ch* for נ by the glossator of L is strange, particularly since he also uses *ch* for both ח and ש within the same word (*chirocham*, v. 8 *infra*).

*panekha*. The use of *p* for פ as against *f* for פ (e. g. *hifela*, v. 4) should be observed, since Jerome had himself rendered both indiscriminately by *ph* (e. g. *phanau*, Isa. 6.2),<sup>142</sup> and states explicitly<sup>143</sup> that except for [the loan-word] *apedno* (אֶפְדְּנוֹ) in Dan. 11.45, the Hebrew פ corresponds invariably to φ.

<sup>138</sup> Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>139</sup> P. L. vol. 25, 1050A; Sperber, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 245.

<sup>140</sup> E. Hatch & H. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint* (1906), vol. 3, p. 205; Sperber, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 250.

<sup>141</sup> Jer. 5.8 (massoretic text מֹשְׁכִים), P. L. vol. 24, 742D; Sperber, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 239.

<sup>142</sup> P. L. vol. 24, 95C; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>143</sup> P. L. vol. 25, 575B; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

## Verse 8.

*simha*. For the omission of the final ן, cf. *likelima* v. 3 (p. 244).

*ethz*. *thz* for unvoiced final ך is noteworthy, in view of the use by the same glossator (L) of *z* for the same purpose (*rebiz*, *infra*), and his use of *ch* for ך at the beginning of *chirocham*. Herbert of Bosham used, for final ך, either *th* or *z*,<sup>144</sup> and the *Notabilia* (perhaps of William of Mara) known from a Toulouse MS, have *cz*.<sup>145</sup>

*diganam*. The use of *i* by the glossator of L for the vocal *shewa* (ə) is to be contrasted with *e* in C 10 (e. g. *likeʒoushim* (Ps. 16.3, p. 218), and Sp. (e. g. *likelima*, v. 3, p. 244). It is surprising that L should use *i* for the vocal *shewa*, but *e* for short *hirek* (= *i*), e. g. *rebiz* (*infra*).

*chirocham*. On the use of *ch* for ך, see on *ethz*, *supra*. *ch* for װ, though surprising in the immediate vicinity, is significant; cf. *sh* in C 10, (*likeʒoushim*, Ps. 16.3, p. 218), but *s* in *miscauchem* (v. 5, p. 244). Jerome reproduces the absolute form of the present word as *thiros*.<sup>146</sup>

*rebiz*. For *e*=short *hirek* see on *diganam* (*supra*); for *z*=final ך, see on *ethz* (*supra*).

## Verse 9.

*iahedaue*. The first *e* (if correctly read — the MS is not clear) represents, incorrectly, the silent *shewa* as in *hifela*, v. 4 (p. 244). The combination *-aue* suggests that the final *waw* was pronounced as a consonant (*av* rather than *aw*), as is frequently the case today. Jerome reproduces this suffix as *-au*, e. g. *baddau* (בדני), Hos. 11.6.<sup>147</sup>

*betha*. This misunderstanding of the furtive *pathah* is surprising alongside *iarea* (Ps. 8.4, p. 218) in the same MS (C 10). Jerome transliterates this word in Gen. 34.25<sup>148</sup> as *bete*, but the second *e* represents not the furtive vowel but the consonant ן.<sup>149</sup>

*tousiveni*. For *ou*, cf. on *hakisouthi*, Ps. 3.6 (p. 217). For *s*=װ, cf. on *safteni*, Ps. 7.9 (p. 218).

VI French glosses to Ps. 4.<sup>150</sup>

L	MS Lambeth 435
O	MS Bodley Or. 621
P	MS Paris B. N. Hébr. 112
Sp.	MS Longleat 21

<sup>144</sup> See R. Loewe, *Herbert of Bosham*, pp. 29, 38.

<sup>145</sup> MS Toulouse 402, f. 247. See *Herbert of Bosham*, p. 38; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, etc., p. 40.

<sup>146</sup> Zech. 9.17, P. L. vol. 25, 1489B; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>147</sup> P. L. vol. 25, 918B; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>148</sup> P. L. vol. 23, 1041B; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 211. <sup>149</sup> Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>150</sup> I am grateful to Professor S. Ullmann and Mr. G. Rothwell, my former

The orthography of the MSS, some of which has been reproduced diplomatically above, has been tacitly modified in what follows in some minor respects, so as to accord with modern scientific convention.

The Hebrew word concerned is furnished in each case with a literal rendering into English, together with such information as to its philological background, and its treatment in the ancient versions and Jewish exegesis, as may have some bearing on the choice of the vernacular gloss.

Verse 1.

למנצח = "for the [musical] director," "to the chief musician."

[This word is derived from  $\sqrt{\text{נצח}}$  = *be pre-eminent*, in the *pi'el* = *act as overseer*; cf. J<sup>h</sup> Victori, following Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. The earlier Latin versions' *in finem*, which follows the Septuagint (*εἰς τὸ τέλος*) seems to postulate vocalization of the Hebrew as an abstract noun ( $\text{למנצח}$ ), not otherwise authenticated, of a meaning similar to  $\text{נצח}$  = *eminence, enduring, perpetuity*.]

P

*efforcement*

The choice of an abstract noun for the personal  $\text{למנצח}$  = *chief musician* is explained by Rashi's note (see below), in which he justifies the use of the expression *preeminence* ( $\text{נצוח}$ , *niššuah*) in this connection. Cf. the gloss in L to the same word in Ps. 5.1: *Nota nichua* (i. e. *niššuah*) *afforcement lamenachea* (i. e. *lam\*našseah*) *a afforcher*. It may be noted that the word occurs, in exactly similar usage, at the end of the Psalm of Habakkuk (3.13), where a 13th century Hebrew-French glossary (in Hebrew characters<sup>151</sup>) renders with a similar form transliterated by the editors as *a véynkemont*.

The choice of the stem *efforcer* to render  $\text{למנצח}$  is probably to be explained by Rashi's comment on Ps. 4.1: "The expression *preeminence* ( $\text{נצוח}$ ) is appropriate for such as *strengthen themselves* [or,

colleagues at the University of Leeds, for advice and assistance in dealing with the French material here considered. An edition of all the Old French material presented by these MS psalters is now being prepared by me in collaboration with Mr. C. A. Robson of Oxford, for whose enthusiastic help in the preparation of the French words here treated I am most grateful.

<sup>151</sup> See note 94. Ed. Lambert and Brandin, p. 143, line 71.

*encourage themselves* — מתחזקים] in work, as is stated in Ezra 3.8, 'and they appointed the Levites . . . to supervise [A. V. to set forward, Hebrew לנצח] the work of the house of the Lord.' " It is significant that the Hebrew-French glossary has, on Ezra, *loc. cit.*, a double gloss, transliterated a *véynkre* and a *anforžér*.<sup>152</sup>

## Verse 2.

בצר = "in (the) strait [situation]"

P *en anguse*

The modern form is *angoisse*. It should be noted that the Hebrew-French glossary renders the same (verbal) root in Zeph. 1.17 (והצרותי = *and I will distress*) by *i anguyseréy*.<sup>153</sup>

הרחבת = "thou didst afford enlargement"

P *ellargis*

Modern *élargir* (infinitive).

חנני = "show me grace"

P *pieté*

As a noun, *piété* is attested from the 12th century, but it cannot be a verbal form as the context here demands. The gloss is presumably intended to point to the connection between חנני and חן, *grace*.

## Verse 3.

לכלמה = "to shame"

P *a vergoine*

Sp. *verguine*

Modern *vergogne* (Latin *verecundia*). *verguine* is the more Anglo-Norman of these forms. It may be noted that the Hebrew-French glossary has the forms *sera vérgoynée* (Num. 12.14)<sup>154</sup> and *seréž verguynéž* (Isa. 45.17)<sup>155</sup> for verbs from this root.

חאהבון = "ye will love"

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206, line 57-8.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144, line 5.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42, line 65.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124, line 7.

P                    *amerez*  
                       Modern *aimerez*.

תבקש = "ye will seek"

P                    *querez* (MS *q̄rez*)

*Quérir* is now an archaism. Strictly, *querrez* is future, *querez* present; but the distinction between *r* and *rr* is often ignored in Anglo-Norman MSS.

Verse 4.

חסיד = "saint," "kindly one"

L                    *meselicord'*

P                    *buutable*

*meselicord'* is a form of *misericorde*, by dissimilation, the interchange of liquid consonants being common in Old French.

For *buutable* read *buntable*, i. e. *bontable* = *pieux* which in the form *bontëables* (בונטיאַבלש) likewise renders חסידיו in a Judaeo-French poetical version of the liturgical hymn for the New Year מלך אדיר במרומים (*Roi toz ses bontëables regarde par pité / A sez ami torjoz remanbre sa juté / A jor do juble-mant*).<sup>156</sup>

Verse 5.

רגו = "be ye agitated"

[For the psychological causes of agitation which √רגו may imply, see on *expauescimini* in Sca., p. 233.]

P                    *entrem[en]tisez* (MS *entremētisez*)

It should be observed that the French-Hebrew glossary supplies the same gloss to this passage<sup>157</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Found as an addition (to be dated after 1291) in a Hebrew liturgy in the British Museum (MS Add. 19664, f. 99a), and thence printed by D. S. Blondheim in *Romania*, vol. lii (1926), p. 27, ll. 36-8 (reprinted in Blondheim's *Poemes judéo-français du Moyen Age* (1927), p. 11; see also pp. 54-5, 63 of the latter, = *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. LXXXIII (1927), pp. 159-60). I am grateful to Dr. Raphael Levy of Austin, Texas for pointing this out to me.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* (see note 94), p. 167, line 7. It occurs likewise in another Hebrew-French glossary (MS Leipzig University 1099 [olim 102]) on this passage, spelled אנטרמנטשיש (*antremantšscšs*); see E. Boehmer, "De vocabulis Franco-gallicis Judaice transcriptis," *Romanische Studien*, vol. 1 (1871-5), p. 215, also A. Aron, *Das hebräisch-alfranzösische Glossar der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek* (MS 102), (Erlangen, 1907; = *Romanische Forschungen* xxii (1908), pp. 828-882) p. 36 [863], no. 56.

(transliterated by the editors as *ontremontiséyž*). Dr. Raphael Levy informs me that the word can be accounted for as a derivative of *tremens*, and compares the Old Italian *intrementire* and *stremementire*.<sup>157a</sup>

Verse 6.

- זבחו = "sacrifice ye"  
 P *sacrifiez*  
 זבחי = "sacrifices [of]"  
 P *sacrifice*  
 צדק = "righteousness"  
 P *de justé*  
*Justé* = *justée* (Latin *\*justitatem*). Cf. *juté*,  
 quoted on v. 4.

Verse 7.

- נסה = either "lift thou up," or "raise as a banner"  
 [For the grammatical (and orthographical) objections to the first rendering, see p. 232.]  
 P *aपर्ceia nos* = "embanner us"  
 This form, for which the (hypothetical) modern French equivalent would be *aपर्perchoie nous*, may be compared with *emपर्chez* (imperative pl.) in MS L (see next entry); *emपर्chez*, however, lacks the stem-extension (suffix) *-oi (ei)*. The variation in the prefix, *a-* for *em-*, may be Anglo-Norman. The variation *c[e]* for *ch[e]* is 13th cent. "Picardising" graphy. *eia* for *oie* is certainly western, and also contains a rare, archaic example of *-a* for post-tonic *-e*.<sup>157b</sup>  
 L *uerz. vexillum uel pertica . . . enपर्chez*  
*uerz.* is unexplained.

*enपर्chez*, like the Latin *pertica* (*perch*), is to be accounted for by the fact that the Hebrew substantive נס, which apparently underlies the denominative verb נסה, means *banner*, etc., including among its range of meanings *pole*, *mast* (cf.

<sup>157a</sup> See S. Pieri, "Appunti Etimologici," in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* xxx (1906), p. 305.

<sup>157b</sup> See M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (1952), §§697, 1208, and A. Aron, *op. cit.* (see note 157), p. 19 [846], notes 61, 62.



the semantic development of the word *standard* in English). נס in Num. 21.8 is actually glossed *perche* (פִּירְקָא) by Rashi *in loc.*<sup>158</sup>

Verse 8.

	דגנם	= "their corn"
O, Sp.	blé	
		Cf. <i>bladum</i> , <i>superscriptio</i> , p. 235-6.
	רבו	= "did increase" (pl.)
L	acruent	
		Modern <i>accroître</i> (infinitive).
	[רבית]	= "interest," "usury"
L	gable	

*gable* is now obsolete;<sup>159</sup> it may be connected with *gabelle*, salt-duty, and like it derived from the Arabic قَالَة, *tax* ( $\sqrt{kbl} = \text{receive}$ );<sup>160</sup> cf. Italian *gabella*, Spanish *alcabala* and Portuguese *alcavala*. A verb *gavel*, meaning *to lend on interest*, is attested in English although now obsolete: e. g. Wycliffe at Deut. 28.44 *gauyl* (v. l. *oker*), for Vulgate *foenerabit* (Hebrew ילוך). The similarity to *gable* is however fortuitous, since there is a satisfactory teutonic etymology for *gavel*, which occurs early in Anglo-Saxon.

Professor S. Ullmann, of the University of Leeds, informs me that there is no feature in the glosses here reproduced to controvert a 12th-13th century Anglo-Norman *provenance* for these MSS, if there is other evidence that points in such a direction.

<sup>158</sup> See A. Darmesteter, *Les Gloses Françaises de Raschi dans la Bible* (1909), p. 36 (= *Revue des Études Juives*, liii-lvi, 1907-8). *Perche* is used similarly at Jer. 50.2 by several manuscript Hebrew-French lexicons (MSS Basle University A.III.39, Parma 2924, Parma 2780): see R. Levy, *Recherches lexicographiques sur d'anciens textes français d'origine juive* (John Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, extra vol. 5, 1932), p. 89.

<sup>159</sup> See F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, and Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, s. v.

<sup>160</sup> See. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (1881), vol. 2, p. 395, col. b, foot. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*<sup>3</sup> (1935), p. 378, no. 4648a: W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, part i (1940), p. 2 (*Ḳabāla*).

## INDEX OF MSS REFERRED TO

I *English Libraries*

Cambridge	Christ's College	Dd. 1.11	note 38
	Corpus Christi College	30 (James)	note 15
		217 (James)	note 15
		444 (James)	note 13
London	Trinity College	B. 14.33	note 64
		R. 8.6	p. 214, 218 f.
		R. 17.1	note 88
		Add. 19664	note 156
	British Museum	Add. 40724	note 10
		Add. 47682	note 12
		(olim Holkham 666)	
		Arundel 60	note 89
		Cotton Nero D. 4	note 91
		Cotton Vesp. A. 1	note 90
	Lambeth Palace	Egerton 1894	note 17
		435	p. 222
		St. Paul's Cathedral (case B)	note 80
		Westminster Abbey	2
			note 72
	Longleat, Wilts	21	note 74
	Manchester	John Rylands Library	fr. 5
	Oxford	Bodleian Library	fr. 5
			note 12
	Corpus Christi College	Bodl. Or. 621	p. 224
		D. 24 (S. C. 3496)	note 91
		7	p. 220
		10	p. 214
	St. John's College	11	p. 214, 218 f.
		143	note 78

II *Foreign Libraries*

Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale	lat. 6	note 12
		lat. 8846	note 88
		héb. 113	p. 223
		héb. 302	note 94
Toulouse		402	note 145
Grenoble		218	note 124
Leipsig	University Library	1099 (olim 102)	note 157
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	cod. lat. 835	note 12

Schulpforta	Landesschul	A. 10	note 12
Leiden	University Library	Scaliger heb. 8 (cod. or. 4725)	p. 223
Basle		A III 39	note 158
Vienna		cod. theo. 210	note 6
Rome	Vatican Library	gr. 746	note 10
		gr. 747	note 10
Parma		2924	note 158
		2780	note 158
Constantinople	Seraglio Library		note 10
Smyrna	Evangelical School		note 10

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berger, S. *Quam notitiam Linguae Hebraicae habuerunt Christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1883.
- Hirsch, S. A. Presidential Address to the Jewish Historical Society of England, 1909, printed in the Society's *Transactions*, vol. 7, p. 1 f., London, 1915.
- Loewe, R. J. "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter," *Biblica*, vol. 34 (1953), pp. 45 f. "The Mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England: Herbert of Bosham and earlier Scholars."\* *Transactions* (vol. 17) of the *Jewish Historical Society of England*, pp. 225 f., London, 1953. "Alexander Neckam's Knowledge of Hebrew." Forthcoming in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*.
- P. L. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Prima (Latina)*, Paris, 1844 f.
- Roth, C. *The Jews of Mediaeval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, New Series, Oxford, 1951.
- Smalley, B. *Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in xiiiith century England, as illustrated by some Hebrew-Latin Psalters*. London, 1939. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1952.

\*It may be noted that this article contains a further bibliography.

# SOLOMON MAIMON'S PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE CRITICALLY EXAMINED

SAMUEL ATLAS

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

MAIMON himself has outlined for us the development of his philosophical career, thus revealing the sources which have left their impress on his thought. In a paper which was published posthumously<sup>1</sup> Maimon speaks of three stages in his philosophical development; each of them marked by the impact of a different personality. In the first period he was under the influence of Maimonides. From Maimonides he learnt the difference between the literal and the figurative meanings of Biblical expressions, i. e., between the apparent and the real meaning of the scriptural terms. The first part of the chief philosophical work of Maimonides, *More Nebuchim*, is devoted to an analysis of the allegorical, the homonymic, and the hybrid terms in Scriptures. The belief in human reason as the determining agent for distinguishing between terms which are to be understood in a literal sense and those which are to be interpreted figuratively, constitutes the basis of Maimonides' rationalism. The real meaning of the scriptural terms referring to God and to the divine attributes can be established solely by means of rational processes. Thus the apparent contradictions between faith and reason are resolved by Maimonides in favor of the latter. The harmony between the two spheres, faith and reason, is not to be attained by admitting two legitimate, distinct realms, each having different aims and purposes, but by recognizing their essential unity. The striving for unity is an essential characteristic of rationalism in general and of Maimonidean rationalism in particular. Hence, not an armistice between faith and reason but a harmonious unity between them is the goal. Maimonides' rationalistic approach to the Bible, by interpreting the biblical terms referring to God in a manner compatible with rationality, constitutes a philosophy of language forming an integral part of Maimonides' philosophy of being and of God. Since a metaphysical conception of the world and of God must take the form of language, which is often an inadequate medium of expression of the transcendent realm, a philosophy of being

<sup>1</sup> *Solomon Maimons Geschichte seiner philosophischen Autorschaft in Dialogen. Aus seinen hinterlassenen Papieren.* Neues Museum der Philosophie und Literatur, herausgegeben von Friedrich Bouterwek. Leipzig, 1804, Erste Abteilung, p. 125-146.

and of God must be accompanied by a philosophy of language. It is one of the inherent, even tragic, difficulties of philosophy in general that it is compelled to express metaphysical ideas by means of language generally associated with the vulgar, common, and sensuous meaning of terms. In other words, the tragedy of philosophy consists in the fact that it must use non-philosophic language as a medium for expressing ideas and concepts transcending the sensuous.

Maimon writes that the teaching of Maimonides concerning the distinction to be made between proper and improper expressions, the teaching that those biblical passages the literal meaning of which does not harmonize with rational thought must be figuratively interpreted, provoked a revolution in Maimon's mind. By this reconciliation between faith and reason, Maimon was liberated from the bonds which dogmatic faith imposes on reason. Faith could now become more and more rational. Maimon thus liberated himself from the fetters of dogmatic theology and could now proceed undisturbed freely to exert his mind toward attaining a higher level for understanding reality and man. This revolution was concerned originally with religious concepts and ideas.<sup>2</sup> We shall see later, how this method of interpreting linguistic terms stood Maimon in good stead in the realm of epistemology, and particularly with reference to his conception of the "thing in itself."

In the second period of his development Maimon stood under the spell of Leibnitz and Wolff. Maimon writes that, from Wolff (through whom, as the expositor of Leibnitz, Maimon came to Leibnitz) Maimon learnt the formal distinction between clear and distinct concepts and confused concepts. This gave his thought a new impulse; it kindled a new light in his mind. Maimon then felt the need to subject to redefinition, in accordance with the requirements of Wolff, the whole stock of concepts which he had taken for granted, and not one of them could stand the test. His striving after clear and distinct definitions evoked in him, as Maimon himself writes, a "mania for definitions." Everything, even the best known concepts, had to be redefined.<sup>3</sup>

And finally, the decisive influence on his thought was that of Kant, which constitutes the third period in his development. Maimon holds this to consist in his having learnt from Kant to distinguish between formal thought and real thought. That is to say, between thought which is governed by the mere formal principles of logic, to which any object of thought as such is subject, and the process of thought aiming at the cognition of objects of reality. The first is

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

analytic and the second synthetic, and the latter cannot be fully determined by, nor derived from, the former. By the formal laws of logic, which is indispensable for any object of thought, it is impossible to attain cognition of objects of reality. The distinction between analytic and synthetic propositions, which Kant considered worthy of being called "classic," consists in the recognition that objects of reality cannot be cognized and determined by formal logical principles. In this, Maimon maintains, lay the decisive influence of Kant on his thought. Maimon, however, deviated from Kant in that he considered the transcendental logic of Kant, which established principles of experience in general (*überhaupt*), i. e. principles of thought without which experience as such would be impossible, also to belong to formal thought, which cannot determine the cognition of this or that particular object of reality. From the principles of thought which are necessary and indispensable for experience in general, there cannot be derived the cognition of particular objects of experience. In this respect Maimon fundamentally deviates from Kant. But the distinction between formal thought and real thought as such, Maimon learnt, by his own admission, from Kant. He extended, however, the area of formal thought to include also the principles of transcendental logic.

The sketch by Maimon of the various phases of his philosophical development is presented in the form of a dialogue consisting of questions and answers between himself and a reviewer. To the question: "Did you not grant to the various doctrines a much wider scope, thus comprehending them in a different manner than implied in their original conception?" Maimon's reply was in the affirmative. The harmony between faith and reason, according to Maimon, is nothing other than the total subordination of the former to the latter. Therefore, the "transcendent" meaning of the concept of speech, interpreted figuratively, implies nothing more than that which causes the generation of certain ideas in the human mind. Since God, as pure spirit, could not have any organ of speech and could not, therefore, speak in a manner accessible to perception by the senses, the expression "God spoke to Moses" means simply that in Moses' mind arose certain ideas the first cause of which was conceived to be God, as He is the first cause of all things. But, in this way, God speaks to every one who has attained rational thought to a high degree. By the "transcendent meaning of the concept of speech" is to be understood the ideal implied in the term, often to be attained by its figurative interpretation rather than through its literal meaning. Here we have the clue to the understanding of Maimon's philosophy of language and to the influence of Maimonides on its formulation.



By way of analogy it can be said that, as according to the generally accepted biological notion, the developing human embryo recapitulates the previous history of the species, so Maimon recapitulates, in his own philosophical doctrines, the history of his previous development. Maimon went through a development of various phases in his philosophical thinking from Maimonides to Wolff, Leibnitz and Spinoza, and from these to Kant and Hume. Ideas of all of them entered into the web of his own speculative constructions. Vestiges of the various systems can be detected in his criticism of others as well as in his own philosophical doctrines and can be traced back to their roots and sources.

## II

It was Maimon's habit to treat a philosophical problem in various connections and in different contexts. Hence we often encounter in his writings repetitions of the same ideas. However, while Maimon remains, on the whole, consistent in the development of the main trends of his thought, there are always to be found, in his various investigations, some new angles and new aspects of the self-same problem in accordance with the varying contexts.

The same applies to Maimon's treatment of the philosophy of language. This problem is dealt with by Maimon in his *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie*, pp. 293-332; in *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie*, in the section, "Über die philosophischen und rhetorischen Figuren," p. 247 ff; in his Hebrew Commentary to the *Moreh Nebuchim* of Maimonides, especially in the first chapters; in his *Lebensgeschichte*, II, pp. 18 ff.; and finally in an essay, "Die philosophische Sprachverwirrung" (in: *Philosophisches Journal*, 1797, Heft III, pp. 213-258).<sup>4</sup>

Every language contains terms and expressions which have a literal meaning and a figurative meaning. Such terms are called tropes. It is the task of a philosophy of language to search for a real definition of the tropes. For that purpose it is necessary to establish the relation between the figurative and inadequate meaning of the terms and their literal meaning. Then it is necessary to find out what are the essential features of the inadequate, figurative expressions. By obtaining a clear concept of the essence of the figurative terms, we shall gain under-

<sup>4</sup> The essay of Maimon: "Was sind Tropen?" which appeared in *Journal für Aufklärung*, 5. Band, 2 Stück, p. 162-179, forms in its entirety a part of *Transcendentalphilosophie*, p. 303-317.

standing of the reason for their rise in our mind and for their usage. For the attainment of this goal, Maimon proposes the following propositions: First, the employment of a figurative term for the designation of a concept or a percept must have an objective ground. That is to say, it must base itself on an object and not merely on subjective associations or impressions. The latter, in fact, presupposes the former; the subjective associations result from the perception of certain objective features.

Furthermore, the mere similarity of the objects cannot furnish a sufficient reason for a figurative term. Similarity is no justification for the use of a term originally coined for an object, in a literal and adequate sense, to signify another object in a figurative and inadequate sense. The following consideration sustains the truth of this proposition.

Let us suppose an object possessing the two properties  $a$  and  $b$ , the proper expression referring to this object is  $X$ . Then let us suppose another object possessing the two properties  $a$  and  $c$ . In consequence of the similarity of the two objects, to the extent that both of them possess the property  $a$ , the same term  $X$  is employed in a figurative and inadequate sense with regard to the object  $ac$ . Since, however, the similarity between the objects is the determining factor in employing the term  $X$  for both of them, the term  $X$  does not refer to the whole object  $ab$ , nor to the whole object  $ac$ , but only to the property  $a$  which is common to both, for otherwise its use in relation to the object  $ac$  would be fortuitous. Hence, the term  $X$  is equally proper and adequate with reference to the object  $ac$  and to the object  $ab$ , in so far as the property  $a$  is present in both objects. We must therefore seek another reason for the valid use of figurative expressions.

Apart from the objective features such as similarity and dissimilarity of the objects, there are subjective relations which determine the interrelation of the objects to each other. The terms used to signify the objects are grounded in the subjective as well as in the objective relations obtaining between them. By "subjective relations," however, are not meant the accidental and personal impressions resulting from the mental state of the particular individual subject. The reference is to those relations which are grounded in the essential forms of human thought as such. Not the individual subject, but the human subject in general, with its forms of thought, is to be considered as the basis of a phenomenology of language. That is to say, the general forms of thought, without which no object is at all thinkable, such as subject and accident, or substance and attribute, cause

and effect, and the like, constitute the source from which certain phenomena of language are to be derived. Herein lies the ground for the derivation of figurative terms and expressions.

Linguistic terms are always reducible to concepts, and concepts covering the relations of objects to one another are simply forms of thought applied to objects. Since figurative expressions always imply relational concepts, and relations are always reducible to the forms and categories of thought, we can determine the figurative expressions as grounded in the logical forms of thought. And since the logical forms are *a priori* principles, which are the necessary conditions of experience, the figurative expressions are grounded in *a priori* principles.<sup>5</sup>

It seems that it was Maimon's intention to explain the phenomenon of the figurative terms on the basis of what he conceived to be the essence of knowledge. The former is rooted in the latter. Maimon's conception of the scope and origin of knowledge provides an answer to the question concerning the origin of figurative terms. The fundamental principle of cognition, according to critical idealism, is that just as the general concept can be conceived only through the medium of the particular, so the particular can be cognized only in its relation to the general. There can be no cognition of the particular without conceiving it as a particular manifestation or a particular example of a general concept. And the figurative expressions are just as reducible to the general *a priori* concepts of thought as are the perceptions of the objects of experience. Thus the figurative meaning and the literal meaning of the terms have a common ground. The figurative meaning is just as genuine and adequate as the literal meaning, since both of them have the same origin. The distinction between the literal and the figurative meaning of the terms is valid only for the primitive, non-philosophical consciousness. By a philosophical analysis of the terms, the common ground of the two meanings is revealed, namely, the logical forms of thought which are *a priori* principles; and the distinction between the literal and the figurative is thus invalidated. By detecting the logical form in which the terms are grounded, their "transcendental" meaning is discovered. And the literal as well as the figurative meanings are both reducible to the "transcendental" form of thought.

Each language is replete with terms which refer to material things and to immaterial things, i. e., to objects perceived by the senses and to ideas conceived by the mind. Thus, for instance, the term "motion"

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie*, 1790, p. 305. Henceforth this work will be referred to as Tr.

refers to the movement of a body and to the movement of the spirit, that is, to change of mind or of a mental disposition. The logical, "transcendental" form of the term "motion" in general is gradual continuity. In case of the motion of a body it is continuous change in relation to space; with reference to the motion of an idea, it is continuous transformation by a process in time. The "transcendental" meaning of the term implies a change or a variety of modifications in one and the same thing. With regard to a material object, the determination of motion refers to external modifications, i. e. the relation of an object to various objects in space. With regard to an ideational object, i. e. an idea, a disposition or a state of mind, the term "motion" signifies mental changes and spiritual modifications.

The verb "to grasp" applies to the seizing of a material object as well as to the comprehension of an idea. The "transcendental" meaning of the term is the appropriation of an object and making it one's own; it may be a material object or an idea. We may interpret the transcendental form of this verb by bringing it in relation to the category of unity. By an act of acquiring an object or an idea, the sphere and the domain of the subject is being enlarged, and greater unity is thus being established. The owning subject and the owned object (a material thing or an idea) stand in a relation of unity to one another. By an act of acquisition the subject and object are unified. By reducing the verb to a form of thought, its transcendental meaning is thus revealed.

The word "to break" or "interrupt" signifies generally a disruption of a unity or of a gradual continuity. The unity may be of a material or of an immaterial nature. There is thus a unity of objects existing in space and a unity of processes occurring in time. The "transcendental" meaning of the verb "break" is the severance of a unity, or an act of negation of unity, either of an existing unity or of a possible unity. The interruption of the growth of a flower, for instance, means the disruption of a unity of the flower with the ground; it may also mean the checking of a continuous process of growth. In this case, a real unity in space is demolished or a potential continuous process in time is disrupted. The interruption of a speech or a process of thought implies the breaking of a possible unity which would have realized itself if its completion had been permitted. In this case the unity disrupted is that of a process occurring in time.

The term "flowing" in its general, transcendental sense, means a continuous succession of the parts of an entity upon one another. With regard to a material entity, a fluid, for instance, the continuous succession of its parts takes place in time as well as in space. With regard to speech or thought, for example, the succession of its parts,

one upon the other, can be thought of as taking place only in time.

The Hebrew verb *Akhol* means eating as well as burning. The "transcendental" form of thought which is the underlying idea of the two applications of the verb, is the preservation of the existence of one thing by the destruction of another. The same can be said with regard to the English word "consume." This expression is therefore original and genuine in relation to the consumption of an object by fire as well as in relation to the consumption of food by animals. The fire is preserved by the consumption of inflammable material and the animals are preserved by the consumption of food. The expression "fire consumes wood" is, therefore, not something figurative and derivative but an original and genuine expression.<sup>6</sup>

It is generally assumed, on the basis of the historical conception of man and of the development of language, that the linguistic terms referring to material objects and to sensuous percepts are prior in time to the rise of the meaning of the same terms as they involve a reference to intellectual notions and abstract concepts. Hence the assumption, generally accepted, that the "transcendental" expressions, i. e., the linguistic terms referring to material and to immaterial objects, are the result of a later development of language. These terms were originally and genuinely formed to signify material objects; only at a later time were they transferred from their original domain of sensuous objects to the realm of abstract ideas. The employment of these terms for the designation of intellectual and abstract concepts is not original with man but is an ideational superstructure produced by the later development of the human mind.

Maimon, however, raises the following objections to such a view. First, the course of historical development of language cannot be definitely stated. It is by no means certain that the terms implying a figurative meaning were originally used only for the designation of sensuous and material objects and later transferred from their original and intrinsic domain to an intellectual domain where they were employed figuratively with regard to ideational objects. Since the perception of the particular and material objects presupposes the cognition of the general concept under which it is subsumed and by means of which it is recognized, the general concept could not have been derived from the perception of the particular. Furthermore, even granted that historically the sensuous meanings of the terms preceded in time the rise of their intellectual meanings, it does not necessarily

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307 ff.



follow that these terms are derivatives and inadequate figuratives when they are used to signify intellectual concepts and immaterial objects. Being posterior in time is not a sufficient reason for considering the intellectual and ideational meaning of the term as non-intrinsic, figurative, or inadequate.

Two central ideas bearing on the essence of critical idealism are involved in Maimon's criticism of the attempt to derive the nature of figurative terms from the historical development of language. Both ideas are grounded in the idealistic conception of the essence of cognition. First, the general concepts cannot be derived from the perception of particular objects. The perception of a particular object is impossible without relating it to a general concept. There can be no perception of an object without perceiving it as a particular pattern, example, or manifestation of a general concept. Every percept is always being related to concepts. But this does not mean that the general concepts have an existence of their own in our mind prior to, and independent of the particulars. Herein critical idealism differs fundamentally from metaphysical idealism which holds that the general concepts are prior in time to the perception of the particulars. Examples of metaphysical idealism are: Plato's *Anamnesis* and Descartes' *Ideae Innatae*. Kant designated Plato's idealism as an imaginary, illusory idealism (*Schwärmerischer Idealismus*). In opposition to metaphysical, transcendent idealism, critical idealism maintains that the general concepts are conceived always in and through the particulars. There are no general ideas in our mind independent of experience; the general concepts do not exist prior to, and without the perception of the particulars. Nor are we justified in assuming the metaphysical, ontological reality of the general concepts.

In opposition to positivism and all shades of sensualism, which maintains that the general concepts result from abstracting the perceptions of the particulars, critical idealism holds that the particular objects are always perceived as particulars of general concepts. The latter are always contained in the former. In other words, there are no percepts without a relation to concepts. Just as the concepts are not prior in time to the percepts, the percepts do not precede in time the concept. Paraphrasing a famous saying of Kant we can say: percepts without concepts are lame and blind and concepts without percepts are empty and inane.

The second idea which bears on the understanding of critical idealism, Maimon disclosed in his rejection of the argument from the historical development of language. This argument proves the figurative and inadequate nature of the immaterial and intellectual



meaning of terms from the historical fact that the material sense preceded in time the rise of the intellectual and immaterial sense. Maimon maintains that being posterior in time is not a sufficient reason for considering the intellectual meaning of the term as non-genuine, figurative, and inadequate.

The criticism levelled against idealism by sensualism and empiricism, based on the consideration of the historical development of man, we encounter through the ages. Locke's writings are replete with argument against idealism on the basis of anthropology and history. The fact that savages do not have general ideas and that children are born without them is for Locke the strongest argument against idealism in general and against Descartes' *ideae innatae* in particular. Locke's arguments, however, are valid only on the assumption that the innate ideas are ready-made concepts in a biological, psychological sense, i. e. that these ideas constitute a natural aspect of man, given to man at his birth alongside his other senses. But the innate ideas should rather be understood in the sense that they arise in the human mind in and through the process of cognition. In the struggle of man with the problems of reality, in his striving for order and unity, the general concepts are generated, i. e., born, in his mind. In every stage of the scientific, comprehensive knowledge of the world, as attained by man, there are contained therein innate ideas without which we cannot account for the systematic cognition of reality. The historical fact that man, prior to his attaining the stage of scientific consciousness resulting in a comprehensive cognition of reality as a whole, was in a state of intellectual innocence, and that, as a sensuous being, he had a relation to the surrounding world exclusively through the medium of his senses, does not prove that the general concepts are non-genuine and are but derivations by way of abstraction from the perceptions of the particulars. Nor does it prove that the terms referring to immaterial objects and ideational concepts are figuratives, non-genuine, and inadequate.

### III

The treatment by Maimon of the relational term "outside," "outer," or "beyond" deserves special consideration because of the close relationship which obtains between the reduction of this term to its transcendental and logical form and Maimon's conception of the "thing in itself," as I shall try to show. The meaning of the relational term "outside" or "beyond," according to Maimon, depends on whether it refers to material things or to immaterial things. With

regard to material objects, the term "outside" implies an external determination of space. With reference to concepts or ideas, it means beyond the limits of a certain ideal structure, where it is determined by internal methods corresponding to the nature of the ideas or concepts concerned.<sup>7</sup>

Since the term does not always mean outside or beyond a certain object in space, but may also mean beyond the limits of a certain logical structure, the general and "transcendental" concept of the term implies beyond the limits of a given entity. In case of an entity of a material nature the term "outside" means beyond the spatial limits of an object; in case of an ideational entity it means beyond the limits of a mental and logical structure.

Now Maimon's analysis of the various meanings of the term "outside" or "beyond" has, so it seems to me, a bearing on the concept of the "thing in itself" as it was understood by Maimon. The Kantian distinction between the *noumena* and the *phenomena* was generally taken to imply that the former constitute the reality underlying the appearances. The *noumena* affect the *phenomena*; in other words: the "things in themselves" are the causes of the appearances. Only the latter are accessible to cognition, i. e. determinations by the forms of thought. The *noumena* which are not determinable by the forms of thought are, as things in themselves, "outside" and "beyond" the phenomena in an ontological sense. They are entities *per se* outside the realm of experiential objects which alone are subject to the categorization by the forms of understanding. While, in relation to the phenomena, the principle of identity of subject and object holds good according to critical idealism, (there is no subject without a relation to objects and there is no object without a subject), in relation to the *noumena*, the principle of identity is not valid. This is implied in the formulation of the *noumena* as entities *per se*, i. e., they have to be thought of as standing in no relation to a subject and its forms of understanding. With such a conception of the *noumena*, it can even be maintained that they are "outside" the phenomena in a spatial sense. The *noumena* cannot be thought of as being in space, since space is itself a form of sensibility. But, more than this, they are "outside" the objects of experience, i. e., outside the phenomena which are in space. Being outside and beyond the realm of objects in space is a spatial determination in a negative sense.

Maimon, however, understood the idea of a thing in itself in an exclusively immanent sense, namely, that those perceptions of an

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

object which are not ordered and mastered by the mind are to be designated as the "thing in itself." In other words, those elements of consciousness which are not categorized by the forms of thought constitute the *noumenon*, the thing in itself. The *noumena* are thus "outside" the phenomena not in a spatial sense but in an exclusively intellectual, immanent sense. It does not mean that the things in themselves have an ontological, transcendent reality existing in itself "outside" the appearances. Rather does the concept of a thing in itself imply the cognition of a limit between categorized and uncategorized consciousness. The appearances which are comprehended and ordered by the forms of thought constitute the realm of experience. Those elements of our consciousness in relation to an object which are not yet rationally ordered and mastered by the categories of thought are "beyond" and "outside" the realm of appearances in a purely mental and immanent sense.

Thus the term "outside" in its "transcendental" sense denotes merely: beyond the limits of a certain entity. The nature of the limits will vary according to the nature of the object referred to. The limits will be of a spatial nature when the delimited entity is a material object in space; they will be of a mental, ideational nature when the object described is an object of thought, an immanent idea of consciousness.

In another context<sup>8</sup> Maimon deals with the question, how it is possible for the human mind to recognize an idea of an object as being grounded in a really existing thing "outside" the mind, and thus to distinguish between that which is *in us*, namely, a mere modification of the subject, and that which is "outside of us." And Maimon defines the meaning of the term "outside of us" thus: "The statement that a thing exists outside of us means only that we consider the idea of the object as something different and distinct from the thinking subject. Whether the idea of the object is in itself merely a modification of the subject, i. e. a mere subjective idea, or whether it is grounded in an objective reality actually existing outside us, is undetermined by this definition of the meaning of the term 'outside of us.' This is a question the solution of which depends on philosophical considerations concerning the essence and potency of human cognition. But the definition of the concept 'outside of us,' as implying merely the distinction between the idea of an object and the thinking subject, must be considered as the general meaning of the term 'outside of us,' independent of the solution of the philosophical question concern-

<sup>8</sup> See *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, 1793, Band 10, Stück 3, p. 121 ff.

ing the scope and possibility of the human mind to recognize the object as actually existing 'outside of the mind.'"

It is of historical and philosophical interest to recall a similar analysis of the relational concept "outside" in connection with the idea of a "thing in itself" by a thinker contemporary with Maimon, and to compare the conclusions each of them has drawn from this linguistic analysis. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, a famous physicist and philosopher, and an admirer and follower of Kant, has analyzed the distinction between the Latin terms "*extra nos*" and "*praeter nos*" with reference to the definition of a "thing in itself."<sup>9</sup> We shall see that the similarity of their initial analysis of the terms "outside of us" and "beyond us" did not prevent their reaching totally different conclusions concerning the conception of a "thing in itself" and its place in a critical system of thought.

Lichtenberg raises the question, how we at all come to the notion of something outside of us, since all our sensations and perceptions are occurrences taking place in our consciousness. The assertion that we sense something existing outside of us involves a contradiction. Since all our sensations occur within us, they are merely modifications of our inner selves. The concept of a reality existing outside of us seems to be grounded in the following reason: As we realize that the changes and the modifications of our consciousness are not dependent on us and on our inner self, we ascribe them to the effect of things outside of us or of our senses; we thus state that there are things outside of us. We should, however, state merely *praeter nos*; but we substitute *extra* for *praeter*, which is something entirely different. The two terms are not the same. While *praeter nos* means merely something which is different from ourselves, thus delimiting the area of our inner self, *extra nos* implies a positive assertion of the reality of things in space outside of us. "This is not due to any direct and immediate sensation but seems to be grounded in the nature of our sensuous capacity; it is the form in which the notion of *praeter nos* is given to us." In other words, the substitution of *extra* for *praeter* results necessarily from the constitution of sensibility.

Furthermore, Lichtenberg proceeds, "We can perhaps present the matter in the following way. We possess a capacity for receiving impressions; this is what we call sensibility. By this faculty we are conscious of the modifications occurring in us. The causes of these modifications we designate as objects. . . . We are always conscious

<sup>9</sup> See Lichtenberg, Georg Christoph, *Vermischte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1844. Vol. 1, p. 84 ff.

of the state of our inner self, our soul. This capacity is our inner sense. When we assert: 'this occurs in me', we experience it by our inner sense. In this experience we are at one and the same time the observed thing and the observing mind, object and subject alike. We are also having impressions of which we are convinced that we are merely the receiving subject, not the object. It would perhaps be right to maintain that these objects are *praeter nos*, which denotes only that we are conscious of something different from ourselves. This would be the only possible way adequately to express our actual experience. But how does the transformation from *praeter nos* into *extra nos* take place, namely the change from the realization of something different from ourselves into the presentation of something existing beyond us in space? This seems to result from a necessary requirement of our very nature. Since the presentation of objects existing in space is a necessary and indispensable condition of our capacity for sensibility, it cannot be derived from experience, for no experiential proposition implies necessity. We must think of space as infinite, but we cannot experience it as such. Granted that there are notions independent of experience, that of the extension of bodies is certainly such a notion."

The conclusion thus reached by Lichtenberg is that the presentation of objects existing outside of us is due to a necessary form of our sensibility. Just as the idea of space itself, so is the presentation of objects existing in space a necessary condition of our sensibility.

Now Maimon, in a similar vein, referred to the distinction which obtains between the Latin terms *extra* and *praeter*, both of which are rendered by the word *ausser* in German or *outside* in English. While *extra* denotes differentiation in space, *praeter* is more general, it implies differentiation as such, and can apply to a difference of concepts. Concepts can be distinguished from one another by the different characteristic features making up their contents. But individual objects of the same kind and species, which possess the same characteristic features, can be distinguished from each other only by their external relations in space or in time. The "transcendental" meaning of the term "outside" implies differentiation in general; it can denote both the difference of spatial and temporal relations between objects and the difference of their content, i. e. the characteristic features of the concepts. A triangle and a circle differ from each other by the content of their respective concepts; two congruent triangles can differ only by their existence in space, i. e. different spatial relations, or by the different points in time in which they arise in our consciousness, i. e. different temporal relations.<sup>10</sup> While the term *extra* denotes spatial

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie*, Berlin, 1793. p. 252, note.



relations and refers to a difference of objects in space, *praeter* refers to a difference of concepts. In employing the relational terms "outside of us" and "beyond us" the two connotations should be kept apart.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Maimon and Lichtenberg in the conception of the "thing in itself" resulting from the analysis of the term *extra nos* in its relation to *praeter nos*. Lichtenberg tries to explain, how *praeter nos*, which means merely the acknowledgment of some reality different from us as the cause of our inner modifications, is being transformed into *extra nos*, implying the assumption of the existence of objects outside of us in space. It is due to a necessary form of our sensibility that we locate the causes of our sensations and the modifications of our inner self in objects existing beyond us in space. Just as space itself, which is always thought of as infinite, (for any finite and limited space is always thought of as part and parcel of the infinite space), is a necessary form of sensibility, so the presentation of that which causes the modifications of our inner selves as objects existing beyond us in space is due necessarily to the form of our capacity for sensibility. Since the leap from *praeter nos* to *extra nos* is due to a necessary form of sensibility, the idea of a "thing in itself" is grounded in the form of sensibility. Lichtenberg thus discovered a new form of the sensuous capacity in addition to the Kantian forms of sensibility, namely, time and space. The systematic place of the idea of a thing in itself is thus the Aesthetics, the subject matter of which is the capacity of sensibility and its forms; and not the Analytics which deals with the forms of understanding. Thus, for Lichtenberg, the "thing in itself" is a necessary and indispensable concept, just as are the other forms of sensibility, time and space.

Now according to Maimon's conception of a "thing in itself," it is not the result of a necessary form of sensibility; it is but a fiction of the imagination. The task of philosophy is to demonstrate the incongruity of such a concept. The leap from *praeter nos* to *extra nos* is not a necessary and indispensable act resulting from the very nature of the capacity of sensibility, it is rather an illegitimate act of the imagination which should be overcome by the light of reason and should be discarded altogether. The task of philosophical reason is to give a clear account of the concepts with which our mind operates and thus to bring about the recognition of and the distinction between necessary concepts and superfluous concepts, between logically consistent and inconsistent notions and between real and imaginary ideas. And the task of the philosophy of language is to reveal the "transcendental" meaning of the terms which acquire in their application to concrete objects a distinct and different connotation, depending



on the nature of the objects. Maimon thus reduced the term "outside" to its transcendental meaning, namely, that it merely implies something beyond the limits of a certain entity, the form and character of the limits being determined by the nature of the entity involved. In relation to the material objects given to perception by the senses, the term "outside" in common language, i. e. on the level of a pre-philosophic conception of reality, implies spatial relations between objects existing in space. In relation to non-material objects conceived by the mind, the term "outside" refers to the ideational limits of a concept. Now since, according to critical philosophy, the cognition of the phenomena of experience is impossible without the assumption of some forms and concepts of thought as necessary conditions of cognition, those elements of consciousness in reference to an object, which are not ordered by the categories and the concepts of thought, are beyond the limits of *phenomena*; they are to be designated *noumena*.

Furthermore, there is a fundamental difference between Lichtenberg and Maimon in their conception of the relation obtaining between the *phenomena* and the *noumena*. According to Lichtenberg, the idea of a thing in itself is grounded in the search for a sufficient reason, a cause, for the rise of inner modifications of our consciousness. Thus, the principle of causality, in addition to a form of sensibility, constitutes a determining factor generating the idea of a thing in itself. This is not the case with Maimon, according to whom there can be no causal relation between the *phenomena* and the *noumena*. Since causality in itself is a constitutive principle for the realm of *phenomena*, the principle of causality could not be applied to the *noumena*, and the thing in itself could not be thought of as causing the inner modifications of our consciousness.

We see thus that the distinction between *praeter nos* and *extra nos* has led Maimon to totally different conclusions from those of Lichtenberg concerning the concept of a thing in itself.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Friedrich Kuntze, "Salomon Maimons theoretische Philosophie und ihr Ort in einem System des Kritizismus," *Logos*, Band III, 1912. p. 293 f. Kuntze quotes from Drobisch, *Kants Dinge an sich und sein Erfahrungsbegriff*, Hamburg und Leipzig, 1885, p. 3, who refers to Lichtenberg's differentiation between *extra nos* and *praeter nos* as implying the distinction between metaphysical transcendent entities existing in themselves, independent of the subjective forms of comprehension, and objects of experience which are appearances in time and space. The latter are, as phenomena, in the sense of Transcendental Philosophy, outside of us.

The distinction between the different meanings of "outside of us" to which we referred, as following from Maimon's conception of the thing in itself, is on an entirely different level. *Extra nos* and *praeter nos* both may refer to *noumena*. The former implies a metaphysical, transcendent thing, while the latter implies the

The connection between Maimon's philosophy of language and his epistemological and metaphysical doctrines is here apparent. Maimon was the first among the contemporaries of Kant to grant a positive meaning to the concept of the "thing in itself," interpreting it in a purely immanent sense, thus making it compatible with the spirit of Critical Philosophy. The incongruity of a "thing in itself" as a transcendent reality in an idealistic system of thought, which considers the basis of our cognition of reality to be the forms of sensibility and of thought immanent to consciousness, was recognized by many contemporaries of Maimon. Jacobi and Aenesidemus-Schulze raised their incisive criticism against this dogmatic residuum in the Kantian system. Their recognition of the dogmatic nature of this concept served them as a means of attack against the very foundations of the critical philosophy as a whole by pointing out its inner inconsistencies. The negative attitude to the "Critique" in its entirety, resulting from their recognition of the incompatibility of the concept of a transcendent thing with the spirit of the Critique, led them on paths away from Critical Philosophy altogether. Jacobi embraced a philosophy of feeling or belief, and Aenesidemus-Schulze adopted skepticism, a philosophy which must necessarily follow, according to his view, from the very fundamental assumptions of Kant himself.

It was Maimon's merit to grant to this *crux philosophiae*, the thing in itself, an interpretation in a purely immanent sense. He has shown the compatibility of this concept, even its necessity, in a critical, idealistic system of thought which does not recognize a transcendent object "given" to consciousness from without. By pointing out the constructive role of the concept of a thing in itself in a system of critical idealism, he defended the "Critique" against attacks fatal to its very foundations. The constructive and positive role of the concept of a thing in itself consists in the awareness of the unrationalized and uncategorized elements immanent to consciousness. This recognition sets a problem for, and a task upon, the human mind for further investigation and for striving after the enlargement and expansion of the area of rationalization, thus promoting the growth and development of rational thought. This was possible for Maimon to accomplish on the basis of a philosophy of language, according to which the term "outside" is understood in a "transcendental" sense. This term is generally taken in a literal and physical

---

consciousness of the irrational components of an object, which are outside the area of rational consciousness. The difference between Lichtenberg's and Maimon's conception of the distinction between the two terms has not been noted by Kuntze.

sense, as referring to spatial relations. Therefore, by *noumena*, as being "outside" and "beyond" the *phenomena*, was generally understood a transcendent reality underlying the *phenomena* and affecting them. But the term in its ideal and "transcendental" meaning should be understood in an immanent manner, namely, outside of categorized consciousness. Hence the "thing in itself" means those elements of our consciousness which are not rationalized and categorized, i. e. which are outside the domain of rational thought as determined by the concepts of the understanding. The *noumena* do not affect the *phenomena*, and the relation between the "thing in itself" and the appearances is not that of cause and effect. It comprises rather, in my opinion, those uncategorized elements of consciousness which constitute a problem for human thought; in the struggle with which problem the creativity of the human mind, striving for unity, order, and rationalization, is set into motion. The "thing in itself" does not affect *phenomena*; rather it provokes the creative initiative of the human mind. The *phenomena* resulting from the spontaneous activity of the mind are entirely due to the forms of thought and to the mind's creativity.

Not in vain has Maimon considered the philosophy of language the heart and soul of philosophy. In the light of the relation obtaining between Maimon's conception of the "thing in itself" and his doctrine of the figurative expressions as being grounded in the "transcendental" meaning of the terms — something genuine and original with the human mind — we understand the import and significance of Maimon's remark that "Philosophy in its proper understanding is nothing but a general doctrine of language."<sup>12</sup>

Maimon's philosophy of language is closely bound up with his idealistic conception of what constitutes the essence of cognition. It is grounded in an idealistic epistemology which consists in the recognition that knowledge cannot be completely derived from sense-data and that the assumption of general forms of thought is indispensable for a conscious account of cognition as an ordering process, cognition being not something passive but something active. Furthermore, these general forms of thought are *a priori*, that is to say, they constitute the fundamental pattern of the human mind; without such forms of thought, experience as known to us, would be impossible. The human mind bears, as it were, the imprint of infinite reason, infinite reason intuitively and spontaneously creating and producing the objects of thought; nothing can be given to it from without. It

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Tr.* p. 269.

recognizes objects not by means of sense perceptions but by an act of cognition. In like manner, the human mind cognizes the objects of experience by cognizing the creative and spontaneous general forms of thought.

Accordingly, it is necessary to understand the essence of language, which is the outward manifestation of thought, as comprising expressions and terms with a "transcendental" meaning corresponding to the various *a priori* forms of thought. Hence the tropes in language (i. e. terms signifying material, sensuous objects, as well as immaterial, ideational objects) should not be considered as figures of speech, i. e. as improper and inadequate terms, when they are used in relation to immaterial objects, but as manifestations of the general forms of thought. The terms are just as proper, adequate and appropriate with reference to immaterial and ideational objects as they are with reference to material and sensuous objects. The terms must be analyzed in order to reveal their "transcendental" meaning which can be related to a categorical form of thought; the "transcendental" meaning of the term is the same in its relation to material objects and to immaterial objects.

According to a sensualistic conception of the essence of knowledge, the sensuous perceptions are the sole basis of all cognition; all knowledge of the objects of experience is reducible to sense-data. A philosophy of language grounded on a sensualistic conception of cognition would consider the linguistic terms with reference to material and sensuous objects as genuine and primary expressions; but when the same terms are employed to signify immaterial and ideational objects they are derivative and secondary. The former are proper, adequate, and real; the latter are improper, inadequate, and unreal. The very meaning of the concept "figure of speech" implies the inadequacy and the unreality of terms with reference to immaterial and non-sensuous objects. But Maimon, as an idealist in epistemology, considers the latter just as proper and genuine as the former. The tropes in relation to ideal, non-sensuous objects are expressions as adequate and as primary as they are in relation to material and sensuous objects. In both cases the terms are grounded in an *a priori* form of thought and reducible to its "transcendental" meaning.

#### IV

It is generally assumed that there is an essential difference, an unbridgeable gap, between the knowledge of the common man and philosophical knowledge. This is thought to be the result of the

incapacity of the common human mind to grasp the abstract and super-sensuous concepts with which philosophy operates. But what may be the cause of the misunderstandings among philosophers themselves? These are due to a great extent, according to Maimon, to the ambiguities and the inexactness of our language. The terms with which philosophy operates are frequently not well defined; one and the same term may have different connotations corresponding, in each particular case, to the object to which it refers. Maimon devoted an essay, "*Die philosophische Sprachverwirrung*,"<sup>13</sup> to an analysis of language as a medium of communication and presentation of philosophical ideas. He shows there the causes of some confusions in philosophical thought as they result from confusions of language. It is wrong to assume, according to Maimon, that the common understanding of man is incapable of a high degree of abstraction and generalization. Our languages which have developed as a medium of thought and communication contain abstract concepts of a high order. Languages are rich in expressions conveying general concepts; there is an abundance of "transcendental" terms, i. e. expressions which refer to sensuous and to super-sensuous objects. The expressions *thing* or *something*, for instance, which occur so frequently in ordinary language, refer to objects, the determination of which is not yet recognized, though they are thought to be cognizable. This amply illustrates that common human understanding is capable of attaining concepts general and abstract to a high degree. "The difference between common human knowledge and the higher form of cognition, which can be designated as philosophical, does not consist in that the latter is more capable of constructing general and abstract concepts than the former, but merely in that the latter is capable of deriving the general characteristics common to various objects in a clear and distinct manner, while the former perceives the general concepts in a somewhat confused and indistinct manner."<sup>14</sup>

Thus the distinction between philosophical knowledge and common knowledge is not a distinction of essence but one of degree. This idea is grounded, it seems to me, in the general distinction obtaining between understanding and sensibility, according to Leibnitz and Wolff, namely, that the former is clear and distinct, while the latter is confused and indistinct. While, according to Kant, the difference between understanding and sensibility is one of essence, as they are

<sup>13</sup> *Philosophisches Journal*, herausgegeben von J. G. Fichte und F. I. Niethammer, 7. Band, 1797, pp. 213-258.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.



grounded in two essentially different capacities, with Leibnitz it is a mere gradual difference of distinction and clearness. Maimon is here consistent in following Leibnitz, as he has applied Leibnitz's doctrine to the solution of the problem *quid juris*, i. e. the question concerning the possibility of applying concepts of understanding to objects of experience. Since sensibility and understanding are, according to Kant, essentially different capacities, the question *quid juris* is most pressing.

Likewise, the difference between common language and philosophical language is a mere gradual difference. Just as understanding and sensibility are not two essentially different capacities, so the difference between common language and philosophical language is a mere difference in the degree of clearness and distinctness. Hence, in the language of the common man, Maimon discovers general concepts which have their origin in pure thought, i. e. *a priori*. The task of philosophy is to unravel the inner meaning of expressions and terms of common language and to bring to clear consciousness what may be hidden from the consciousness of the common man. By this process of disentanglement, it can be shown that the common mind bears the mark of its relation to an infinite mind which is wholly spontaneous and *a priori*.

The problem concerning the genuine meaning of the linguistic terms and expressions referring to sensuous and material things and to ideas and transcendent objects, is of paramount significance for the understanding of cognition. Whether the sensuous meaning of terms is primary and genuine, while their ideational meaning is derivative and secondary, or the latter is just as original and genuine as the former, is not merely a question concerning the historical development of language. Its importance is of a much wider scope. The solution of this question has a bearing on the epistemological conception of cognition, its role and its scope, and on the possibility and the limitations of the knowledge of reality. Whether we accept a materialistic or an idealistic view of the world will depend on the solution of this linguistic question. Should it be conclusively proved that the sensuous meaning of terms is their original and primary meaning, it would follow that the abstract and ideational concepts are, in an epistemological sense, not genuine. And idealism, as I understand it, with its emphasis on the creative character of cognition — in other words, the view that, in essence, cognition consists of concepts and ideas which are not derivable from the senses — would be endangered. According to Maimon, the conception that the greater part of linguistic terms and expressions are improper names, that is to say, that they



are derived from proper and original terms which are all grounded in sense perceptions, is not only incorrect but, what is more important, "is contrary to the interests of reason and of true morality which is incompatible with sensualism. Such a view favors materialism; it lets Satan triumph over the good spirit, it places Ahriman above Ormazd."<sup>14a</sup> That is to say: by extending the reach of the percepts and contracting that of the concepts, materialism enlarges the sphere of the senses and narrows that of reason.

In certain schools of Neo-Kantianism, orienting themselves according to the highest forms of human cognition, mathematics and physics, the *a priori* concepts are derived from scientific thought. The impression may be gained that an unbridgeable gap exists between common knowledge and scientific cognition. Some critics have raised the objection that such a philosophy is a philosophy of science, not of the world, nor of man; science being only one aspect of human endeavor. But with reference to Maimon, whose philosophy is tied up with scientific thought, more so than that of most philosophers of the post-Kantian period, such a criticism is out of place, for he explicitly tries to show that *a priori* concepts are to be found in language which is the medium of cognition and of communication for the common man. In the general concepts transcending perception and in the "transcendental" concepts, referring both to sensuous and to non-sensuous objects, can be detected the nature of the human mind as creative and spontaneous, and these are to be found in common knowledge as manifested in common language. The difference between common knowledge and scientific knowledge consists solely in the degree of clearness and distinctness. It is therefore methodologically proper to orient philosophical investigation, for the deduction of the general concepts, on scientific knowledge which is characterized by a greater clarity and systematic unity of thought. However, general concepts are also present in common knowledge. Hence the analysis of the linguistic terms having a "transcendental" meaning will lead to the discovery of the general concepts which are genuine to the human mind as such.

The difference between common knowledge and philosophical cognition, based on scientific knowledge, concerns merely the modal quality of the concepts, that is, the intensity of their clearness. There is, however, a much graver deficiency in common knowledge which may have a detrimental effect on philosophical cognition, since the latter has been developed from the former. This consists in the fact

<sup>14a</sup> Tr. p. 302.

that common knowledge abounds in general terms, while it is deficient in terms designating the particular characteristics of things. There is in common knowledge an abundance of concepts referring to species, while it lacks terms referring to the individual features of objects. This can clearly be demonstrated by an analysis of language. The more ancient a language is, the more are there to be found in it terms designating the general characteristics of objects, and correspondingly, the fewer are the terms for the designation of the particular features of objects. In Biblical Hebrew, for instance, the same term is used for the ordinary sense of seeing, for perception in general, and for cognition. The same applies to the term "hearing," which refers to the sensuous perception of hearing, to noticing and experiencing in general, and to understanding with the mind.<sup>15</sup>

The reason for this phenomenon in language lies in the fact that various functions of the mind have something in common, namely, the reaction of the subject to something given from without. But since the essential characteristics of each of these mental functions do not consist solely in what is common to them all, but rather in what is peculiar to each mental function, there must therefore be separate terms corresponding to each of them in particular. So, for instance, with regard to the term "hearing," if the actual sense perception be designated as A, the perception of a command should be designated by Ab, and the intellectual comprehension of an idea designated by Ac.

Philosophic language suffers from the same deficiencies which characterize ordinary language; the inexactness of the latter is present also in the former. Philosophy employs general concepts without having a criterion of their "material" truth; that is to say, it does not demonstrate the objective reality of a general concept when it is applied to particular phenomena of experience. So, for instance, the general concept of causality is considered by critical philosophy a transcendental form of thought *a priori*, since it is a necessary condition of experience as such, for without it no experience would be possible at all. Thus we know only the formal reality of this concept.

<sup>15</sup> *Philosophisches Journal, ibid.*, p. 216.

The different connotations of the term *roeh* (seeing) in the Hebrew Bible has been pointed out by Maimonides. Cf. *Guide for the Perplexed*, I chap. 4. Likewise with regard to the term *shomea* (hearing), cf. *ibid.* chap. 45 and 47.

However, Maimon pursues here a different purpose. While Maimonides' aim is to remove all anthropomorphisms from the Hebrew Bible with reference to the concept of God, Maimon uses these examples as an illustration of the need for a revision of philosophical language.

But the question still remains concerning the objective reality of this concept in relation to the particular phenomena to which it is applied, since the connection between the particular object A to the particular object B, as cause and effect, may be due to reasons psychological.

Furthermore, philosophy employs terms in a loose manner without exactly defining their sense. The term "objective reality," for instance, which is a genuine philosophical term, as it is a product of philosophical thought, can mean different things, depending on the context in which it is used. The general meaning of the term, i. e. its genus, is quite clear. We attribute to a thing objective reality when the idea of the thing is determined not only by the form of thought but also by the object *given* to the subject through perception and intuition. That is to say, the thing *given* to the subject determines the application of the form of thought to it in such manner that the thing is comprehended as an object of reality.

But the term "given" is ambiguous; it has different meanings corresponding to the object in relation to which it is used. Thus in Euclidean geometry the term "given" is employed in a different sense altogether. In the proposition "When A is given, B is also given," the antecedent (A) is arbitrarily presupposed, the consequent (B), however, follows necessarily from the supposition. A line is given when its two limiting points are determined.<sup>16</sup> The term "given" in its general meaning, i. e. its genus, must therefore first be subdivided into its various kinds, and then there has to be determined in what sense the term is meant before applying it in a particular case.

In Maimon's analysis of the various meanings of the term "given" we can, it seems to me, find a clue to Maimon's conception of the thing in itself. We have already referred to his doctrine of the thing in itself as a purely subjective immanent concept. The thing in itself is not an object existing outside of consciousness, "given" from without to the subject. It is rather those elements of our consciousness with reference to an object, which are not categorized and brought under the dominion of the logical forms, that are to be designated the thing in itself. Those irrational elements, constituting a problem for, and imposing a task upon the human mind for the search of greater rationalization, make up the thing in itself. It is "given" not from without but from within consciousness. Assuming that the mind is affected in the reception of impressions, through the senses, from something outside of it, in the conception of the sense-data as a problem

<sup>16</sup> *Philosophisches Journal*, p. 230.

for cognition, a great deal of thought is implied. The formulation of the sense-data as irrational and the consciousness of such are the result of a process of thought; they are thus immanent to subjective consciousness. Hence the thing in itself is given from within consciousness. This is true even on admission that the sense-data are affected by something outside the subject. The mere passive reception of sense-data is subject matter of psychology. But the concept of a thing in itself, as something irrational, belongs to logic. As such, the concept of a thing in itself is derived from within consciousness. And it is thus closely bound up with the various meanings attached to the term "given." The term "given" can just as well mean given from within consciousness. In this way, we can see coherence and systematic unity between the various doctrines of Maimon.

In a similar manner Maimon analyzes the expression "*there is*." This expression can imply different meanings. We say: there is an equilateral triangle. By its construction we can demonstrate its reality. In mathematics is also used the number  $\sqrt{2}$ . But is there such a thing? With equal right the question can be answered affirmatively as well as negatively. There is such a thing as the square root of 2, since it can endlessly be approached through an infinite series. On the other hand, it can be said that there is no such a number as produces the number 2 by its own multiplication. The mathematicians take it for granted that there is such a number with the understanding, however, of the meaning of the term "*there is*" peculiar to it. It is different from the meaning of the same expression in the proposition: there is a number  $\sqrt{4}$ .<sup>17</sup>

The expression "*there is*" has thus different implications. Hence, before discussing the question of the existence or non-existence of some object, it is necessary to define what sense is attached to the expression "*there is*" in the particular case under discussion. Many discussions in philosophy would thus lose their ground. The theist and the atheist, for instance, argue with one another about the existence of God. One maintains *there is* a God, and the other asserts *there is no* God. It would be possible to terminate the discussion, if the meaning of "*there is*" in this particular case were clearly defined by considering the various possible implications of that expression. They should ask each other: "What do you mean by the expression: *there is* a God? And what do you imply by saying: *there is no* God? Does it mean that there is a God as there is a house, a tree, or is it in a sense similar to that of the proposition: there is a triangle, there is a number  $\sqrt{2}$ ?"<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

This shows clearly the inadequacy of our language for the presentation of philosophical ideas. If there were in our language special terms corresponding to the various meanings implied in the term "there is," many misunderstandings could have been avoided. For then, in each particular case, the special term suitable to it would have been employed instead of the general term which is ambiguous. "According to a proper understanding of the idea of God, it is just as inappropriate to say that there is a God, as it is improper to say that there is no God: the former implies too much, and the latter too little. In other words, both propositions are equally wrong";<sup>19</sup> the reason being that the concept of existence implied in the expression "there is" cannot be a predicate of the subject God. It is analogous to the impossibility of predicating color with reference to a mathematical line. "It is improper to say of a mathematical line that it is black or that it is not black, for color is not a possible predicate of a mathematical object." With regard to mathematical objects the expression "there is" implies not existence but the possibility of construction. Since an equilateral triangle, for instance, is possible of construction, we say that there is such an object. Similarly, we say that there is no equilateral triangle which is rectangular. For, apart from the impossibility of its construction, it would contradict other mathematical objects, the reality of which has been verified by construction and its consequences. But, with regard to an idea, such as the idea of God, "it can neither properly be said that there is nor that there is not such a thing. For an idea as such can neither be represented in intuition (*Anschauung*), nor can it contradict other concepts which are possible of representation."<sup>20</sup>

This doctrine of Maimon that existence is not a possible predicate of the idea of God, and the comparison between the predicate of existence in relation to God with the predicate of color with reference to a mathematical object, constitute the basis of Maimon's "Principle of Determinability." This principle seeks to establish a law governing the synthetic propositions analogous to the law of identity and contradiction which govern the analytic propositions. That is to say, by this law, it is possible to determine which of the predicates can and which of them cannot be predicated of a subject.

This idea of Maimon that existence is not a possible predicate of the idea of God has its source in Maimonides. Maimonides has argued that the attribute of existence as applied to God should not be understood in a positive sense but in a negative sense, i. e. as not non-existence. Existence with regard to objects of experience implies a

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*



quality added to essence. This involves a compound of essence and existence which is inapplicable to God, the idea of which must be thought of as absolute unity. Of God it can only be said that His essence is identical with His existence. This is a kind of existence entirely unknown to us, for it is totally different from the existence of objects experienced.<sup>21</sup>

The idea that existence cannot be attributed to God is common to Maimonides, to Kant and to Maimon, but it has been differently determined by each of them, corresponding to their respective philosophies. According to Maimonides, it is the result of his conception of absolute unity which has its roots in Neo-Platonism and which has determined his doctrine of divine attributes as being altogether negative. With Kant it follows from his conception of the process of cognition as an act of synthesis, the necessary conditions of which are the forms of sensibility, time and space, and the categories of understanding. Maimon, however, derived it from the general Principle of Determinability, thus granting it a logical formulation which governs synthetic propositions as such.

From Maimon's conception of the idea of God as an infinite goal which can only be endlessly approached, follows his criticism of atheism as a positive system of thought. Only with reference to an anthropomorphic system of theology is atheism possible. The belief in the existence of limited, national deities can be shown to involve a contradiction and to be therefore logically untenable. But the idea of an infinite, all-perfect being, which is the true belief of monotheism, is at least not contradictory. It is logically possible, since it does not involve a contradiction. A contradiction is involved in a concept in which the predicate of the proposition is either incompatible with its subject or with other concepts, the truth of which has been established. But the idea of an infinitely perfect being cannot be demonstrated to involve a contradiction.<sup>22</sup> It is true that, with regard to objects of experience, the mere logical possibility of a concept is no guarantee of its reality. The example of a decahedron, to which Maimon refers time and again, is a case in point. A decahedron (a figure in space of ten equal sides) is logically possible, as it does not involve a contradiction. Yet its construction is actually impossible. There must be some cause in the nature of space, unknown to us, which renders this logically possible concept impossible of realization. This demonstrates that the reality of a concept, i. e. the existence of an object of experience corresponding to the logical concept, cannot be deduced from

<sup>21</sup> Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, I, 58.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. S. Maimon, *Philosophisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1791, p. 25 f.



its merely formal, logical possibility. For positing the reality of a concept, there is required, according to critical philosophy, in addition to its logical possibility (i. e. the absence of contradiction), some positive basis in the realm of experience. This is attained either by construction, as in the case of mathematical objects, or by some positive ground in the realm of experience. Though a logical concept as such may not involve a contradiction, its reality as an object of experience may be rendered impossible due to its incompatibility with some aspect of nature, known to us or unknown to us.

But with reference to the idea of an infinite, most perfect being, transcending all experience, which by its very definition is neither an object of possible construction nor an object of perception, its reality does not require a positive basis in the realm of experience, nor can it be refuted on the ground of some experiential phenomenon. For no object of experience which is limited can demonstrate the unreality of an infinite idea. In other words, the idea of an infinite being cannot be refuted by demonstrating its incompatibility with experience.

Hence, with reference to such an idea of God, atheism as a positive doctrine is untenable. The idea of an infinitely perfect being can, however, be considered problematical. It is like any mathematical concept which in itself does not involve a contradiction, the reality of which, however, is problematical so long as its construction has not been demonstrated. The logical possibility of a mathematical concept follows from the mere absence of a contradiction, but its actual reality in the realm of experience must be demonstrated by the construction of a corresponding mathematical object. Now, the conviction that the idea of an infinite being is problematic should by no means be considered atheism, since it does not imply the denial that the existence of such a being is possible. It involves merely the view that the idea of an infinite, all-perfect being is beyond the possibility of demonstration as to its reality. But possibility and reality are forms of the modality of concepts, and since the idea of an infinite being cannot have a corresponding sensuous schema in the realm of experience, its reality can neither be affirmed nor denied.

The idea of an infinite, most perfect being as an endless goal implies the recognition that our reason has its limitations. The human mind is powerless to demonstrate the objective reality of this concept, but it recognizes its subjective reality as an idea universally valid and necessary. This idea is not constitutive. Its value is regulative; it implies an ideal of infinite perfection towards which man has endlessly to strive and which man can continuously approach.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

The idea of God as an infinite idea, which can endlessly be approached but never fully attained, similar to the mathematical concept of infinity which can only be approached through infinite series (as the square root of 2), led Maimon to the evaluation of mathematics for the understanding of metaphysics. He follows here in the great tradition of the continental rationalists, Descartes, Leibnitz, and Spinoza. But he uses mathematics to illustrate the idea of God in accordance with the spirit of critical philosophy which has shown the untenability of dogmatic metaphysics.

With regard to the relevance of mathematics for metaphysics, Maimon again follows Maimonides. Maimonides states that there is a necessary connection between the study of mathematics and natural science, on the one hand, and the attainment of a true metaphysical idea of the nature of God on the other, the former being indispensable for the latter. "Many propositions based on the nature of numbers and the properties of geometrical figures are useful for the understanding of those properties which must be negated in reference to God, and these negations will lead us to further conclusions."<sup>24</sup> To this statement of Maimonides, Maimon remarks: "Excellent! the nature of irrational numbers, for instance, demonstrates that it is sometimes impossible to obtain a clear concept of a thing as an object in itself and yet we can determine its relation to other objects. Thus we have no concept of God as an object in itself and yet His relation to us, which is the very basis of ethics, could be determined. The algebraic formulas lead us often to the concept of the infinite as a limiting concept which has a regulative, though not a constitutive function."<sup>25</sup>

Maimon here emphasizes two ideas. First, the relation of mathematics to metaphysics is seen in a new light. In mathematics we learn to distinguish between the knowledge of a thing as an object in itself and the mere knowledge of its relation to other objects, as in the case of irrational numbers. And secondly, through mathematics, we are led to the understanding of the infinite as a limiting concept which has a regulative, not a constitutive function, which is something of vital importance for the understanding of metaphysics.

Being critical of dogmatic metaphysics, including that of Maimonides, or of those of its doctrines which are grounded in Aristotelianism, Maimon could nonetheless methodologically approve of Maimonides' evaluation of mathematics as a basis for metaphysics and employ it for a conception of metaphysics in the spirit of critical philosophy. God should be conceived not as a first cause, but as a

<sup>24</sup> See *Guide*, I, 34.

<sup>25</sup> S. Maimons *Lebensgeschichte*, Berlin 1792, II, p. 43.

final, endless goal. And the concept of infinity in mathematics could serve as a schema for presenting the idea of God as an infinite ideal which can be asymptotically approached but never fully attained.

## V

Maimon compared the process of cognition with the act of seeing. The comparison of knowledge with light and the process of knowing with that of seeing is of ancient date. Plato seems to have been the first to recognize the relation between the process of cognition and the act of seeing. The philological root of the central concept in Platonism, namely the doctrine of ideas, reveals a connection between knowing and seeing. The same is apparent in Plato's famous description of the common man as being in the state of a cave-dweller who sees only the shadows of things. The philosopher has liberated himself from the chains binding him to the cave, i. e. from the senses; he has seen the light, thus attaining a clear vision of the pure ideas which are the true essences of the things.

Plato's comparison of knowledge with light and the act of cognition with that of seeing is grounded in his metaphysical conception that the essence of being consists of transcendent entities. The "many" given to our senses are the shadows of the true metaphysical entities, the ideas. Cognition is not rooted in an act of synthesis establishing unity but in an act of intuiting the true essences of the things, which are unities.

For Maimon, however, whose thought is rooted in critical philosophy, the essence of truth consists in an act of synthesis; thus the act of cognition cannot be a process that comprehends something which exists in itself. The comparison between knowledge and light cannot therefore have for Maimon the same import and meaning that it had for Plato.

Apart from the historical antecedents and consequences of the comparison between light and knowledge, we have first and foremost to recognize the particular manner in which Maimon considered the similarity between the cognitive process and the art of seeing. He quotes the Psalmist: "With Thee (God) is the fountain of life; in Thy light do we see light" (36:10). He explains: the word "light" can be taken in its proper sense as referring to the sensation of sight and also in its figurative sense of conceiving with the mind. In both cases the same relation obtains between light in itself and the objects illumined by it. We see directly by light nothing but the light itself; indirectly, however, we see the objects by the light which, shining upon them,

is reflected in our eyes. In its metaphorical sense, as the light of knowledge, the same relation obtains between the cognitive capacity and the cognized objects. Through the light of the mind we cognize directly the cognitive capacity and its forms, and indirectly, through the forms of thought, we cognize the objects to which the forms of thought apply. Our understanding conceives in the objects nothing but what it puts into them out of its own resources.<sup>26</sup>

Now the source of Maimon's comparison of the process of cognition with the act of seeing is in Maimonides, who devoted a chapter in his Guide (I.4) to an analysis of the various biblical terms which refer to seeing with the eye and which have also the metaphorical meaning of seeing with the mind. Likewise, in Maimonides is the reference to the Psalmist's "in Thy light do we see light." Twice Maimonides mentions this passage to illustrate this idea of the relation between the human mind and the divine, infinite mind. In II.12, he deals with the influence, i. e. the emanation, of the infinite mind upon human reason, and sums up his definition of this emanation: "The concluding words of the verse 'In Thy light do we see light,' express precisely the same doctrine that, by the influence of the mind which emanates from God, we become wise and are guided toward the comprehension of the divine intellect, i. e. the Active Intellect." In II.52, Maimonides deals with the same idea of the relation of the finite, human mind, and the infinite mind as regards the idea of individual providence. According to his doctrine, individual providence is nothing but an attainment of man resulting from the activation of the mind to the extent of its becoming a part of the divine, active intellect. "We attain an idea of God by the very light emanating from God upon us, as the Psalmist says: 'In Thy light do we see light!'"

The suggestion, that Spinoza's saying, "The light illumines itself and also the darkness" is the possible source of Maimon's parallel between light and cognition,<sup>27</sup> should not make us fail to recognize the tremendous difference of the motives underlying this parallel in the two systems of thought, that of Spinoza and that of Maimon. Spinoza's saying is closely bound up with his metaphysical doctrine of *res cogitans* as an attribute of substance. The two attributes, mind and extension, as two aspects of one and the same substance (God), are compatible with one another. The modi of extension, i. e. the objects of reality, are comprehended and penetrated by the mind

<sup>26</sup> *Philosophisches Journal*, 7th vol. p. 236 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Friedrich Kuntze, *Die Philosophie Salomon Maimons*, Heidelberg, 1912, p. 382.

because the order prevailing in the one realm (mind) fully corresponds to the order prevailing in the other (extension): *ordo et connexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexio rerum*. Hence the light of the mind illumines itself and the darkness, i. e. extension, because of the immanent harmony between the two attributes.

Maimon, however, employs the parallel of light and cognition in the Kantian critical sense, namely, that cognition is essentially an act of synthesis and that the objects cognized are the result of a process of categorization by the forms of thought. Through the application of the forms of thought to objects of perception, the objects are categorized and conceived as unified entities or, in the words of Maimon, "Our understanding conceives in the objects nothing but what it puts into them out of its own resources."<sup>28</sup> Hence the forms of thought in themselves, just as light, can directly be recognized, while through them, indirectly, the objects of reality are recognized, just as the objects illumined by light are seen through the medium of light.

Now the parallel between light and reason, in the manner formulated by Maimon, holds true only on the basis of his particular conception of the *a priori* forms of thought. But it is incompatible with a strictly critical conception of the *a priori* forms. Maimon assumes that the forms of thought can be directly cognized. Just as light is directly seen in and through itself, so are the forms of thought directly apprehended in themselves. This, it seems to me, is not compatible with a strictly critical conception of the idea of *a priori* and is contrary to the transcendental method. According to this method, the forms of thought are to be derived from the objects cognized, i. e. from the objects of experience as comprehended and formulated by the natural sciences. But the forms of thought cannot be cognized in and by themselves separate from, and independent of, the objects of experience.

Maimon was critical of Kant's conception of *a priori*. Kant held that mathematical judgments are synthetic *a priori* propositions since they are grounded in the *a priori* forms of intuition, time and space. Maimon's position is that, since the construction of the geometrical objects is necessary for the derivation of these mathematical propositions, these propositions cannot be considered *a priori* in a pure and absolute sense. Only such propositions as are conceived prior to the construction of any object are *a priori* in a pure and absolute sense.

<sup>28</sup> *Philosophisches Journal*, *ibid.*



This is the case with the laws of logic. They are binding for all objects of thought, independent of their content; for no object can be thought of in defiance of the laws of identity and of contradiction. No predicate can be attributed to a subject unless the two do not contradict one another. The laws of logic, which are entirely independent of the objects of experience and prior to them, can be conceived in and by themselves; they are *a priori* in a pure and absolute sense. With reference to such concepts, the comparison of the process of cognition with that of light, as formulated by Maimon, holds true. Just as light is first perceived in itself and then, through its medium, objects can be seen, so the *a priori* concepts which are prior to, and independent of the objects, are first cognized by themselves and then, through the medium of the forms, the objects are cognized. Thus Maimon's analysis of the comparison between light and cognition is grounded in his conception of the idea of *a priori* which is different from that of Kant. According to the latter, the *a priori* concepts are derived from the objects of experience as their necessary conditions. The very essence of the transcendental method, as formulated by Kant in his Transcendental Deduction of the Categories, hinges upon the principle of the possibility of experience. That is to say that since, without the categories of thought, no experience whatsoever would be possible, these concepts are necessary conditions of the objects of experience. Accordingly, the concepts of thought cannot be conceived in and by themselves independent of and prior to the objects; they are rather derived from the objects of experience as their necessary and indispensable conditions. Hence, the comparison of cognition with light in Maimon's formulation is not compatible with the Kantian conception of *a priori*.

The comparison of the act of cognition with that of "seeing" may be interpreted to involve the realistic conception of cognition, as consisting essentially in the comprehension of reality as it is in itself. The corollary of such a view of cognition is the correspondence theory of truth which defines truth as consisting of the correspondence attained between thought and reality. Supposing that the human mind is capable of perceiving the objects of reality as they are in themselves, the idea of the creative activity of the thinking process must be discarded as a distortion of the true function of thought. Such a conception of the essence of cognition appeals to common sense, but it is not compatible with the transcendental critical doctrine of cognition with its emphasis on the creative character of cognition and of truth. As a matter of fact, in our own time, various philosophical



schools have attempted to defend this realistic common sense conception regarding the function of cognition and the essence of truth. E. G. Moore is a representative exponent of this realistic common sense philosophy, and especially various thinkers of the phenomenological school influenced by E. Husserl, have put forth a new and vigorous attempt to reformulate the realistic conception of cognition and truth. It is of interest to note (in connection with the task before us), that the doctrine of *Wesensschau*, i. e. seeing or intuiting of essences, as developed by Husserl, which plays such a central role in modern phenomenology, has employed the act of "seeing" as a characterization of the cognitive act. It is no mere accident that the phenomenology of Husserl and the existential philosophy of Heidegger, which was developed on the basis of the former, employ terms pertaining to sight and to the act of seeing for the description and characterization of the cognitive process, its capacities and its function. Terms such as "to look," "to see," "to be seen," "to show," "to be shown" and many similar visual images and epithets, are frequently used by Heidegger; they all have the same connotation of grasping an object by the act of cognition in a manner similar to perception by an act of vision. Likewise, terms and expressions taken from the realm of acoustics, such as "to listen," "to hear" are used by him for the characterization of the cognitive act by which the objects of reality in their essence are grasped by the mind.

These linguistic terms are to be taken not merely as figures of speech or as symbolic expressions, but as indicating the realistic conception of cognition and of truth. In these turns of speech, the idea is implied that the essential features of the objects of reality are comprehended by the human mind. The essence of being as it is in itself is accessible to the human mind. Heidegger explicitly states that his preference for the visual terms for the characterization of the cognitive process is intended to indicate the similarity obtaining between the visual act of perceiving by the eye and the cognitive act of comprehending by the mind. Objects of reality which are accessible to cognition are grasped by the mind in their true essence as they are in themselves. Through the process of cognition, the subject encounters being in its essence, inasmuch as it affords an approach by intellectual comprehension.<sup>29</sup>

This characterization of our mental operations embraces also the cognitive process as manifested in natural sciences; it determines the nature and essence of the physical laws as established by natural

<sup>29</sup> Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, Halle a. d. S. 1935, p. 147.

science. In the natural laws as discovered by science are revealed the inner connections and the interrelations between the phenomena of nature as they are in themselves.

According to this epistemology, there is no cleavage between phenomena and noumena; the former are the manifestations of the latter. The problem of the "thing in itself" with its inherent contradiction, (positing, as it does, a knowledge of something which is beyond the limits of the forms of cognition) is central to Critical Philosophy, but non-existent in a system of thought according to which the human mind is capable of comprehending reality as it is in itself. The discovery of natural laws consists, according to this system, in uncovering and laying open to view connections and interrelations between the objects of reality as they exist in themselves. Through the discovery of the physical laws by Newton, for instance, being in itself and in its true essence was disclosed.<sup>30</sup> The pure metric science of space, such as geometry and trigonometry, arose through the discovery of the very essence of space as it is in itself.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly the epistemology of Nicolai Hartmann which is grounded in modern phenomenology regards cognition as the process of comprehending reality in its essence. Hence the relation of the subject to the object is characterized not as a creative relationship but as a receptive relationship.<sup>32</sup> Cognition of an object means the attainment of a correspondence between the object as it is and its mental image;<sup>33</sup> wherefore Hartmann also employs turns of speech which appertain to the perception of sense data, such as seeing, for the description of the cognitive act.

We have brought these examples from contemporary philosophy for the sole purpose of illustrating the implication of a realistic conception of the essence of cognition and truth in the visual expressions employed for the characterization of the cognitive act. This implication is contrary to the trend of Maimon's thought grounded as it is in the critical philosophy. A whole world of difference separates Maimon's conception of cognition and truth from that of Heidegger and Hartmann. Hence his figurative representation of cognition by the image of seeing cannot possibly have any relation to the realistic view of epistemology, according to which the objects of reality, as they are in themselves, are revealed to, and discovered by the subject.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>32</sup> Nicolai Hartmann, *Metaphysik der Erkenntnis*, pp. 38, 138, 198.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The realistic conception of the role and function of cognition, as consisting in the comprehension of being and reality in itself, is diametrically opposed to the idealistic critical doctrine of cognition as a creative process transforming the inchoate formless "given" in accordance with its own laws and principles. While the realistic epistemology with its emphasis on the passive, receptive role of cognition, is oriented toward "common-sense," i. e. toward the non-scientific or pre-scientific conception of knowledge, the idealistic doctrine of cognition is oriented toward scientific knowledge, and especially toward the physical sciences grounded in the deductive processes of mathematics.

The metaphor of "seeing" for the act of cognition, as used by Maimon, cannot have the implication that the human mind possesses the capacity of perceiving the object as it is in itself. Maimon was one of the most vocal critics of the concept of the thing in itself, as it was generally understood by the contemporaries of Kant, i. e. as a noumenon affecting phenomena. Such a concept is self-contradictory in a critical, idealistic system of thought, the central doctrine of which is that all knowledge is determined by the forms of intuition and the concepts of understanding. Knowledge is thus possible only within the limits of experience, and the positing of an object beyond the confines of the forms of intuition and the concepts of understanding is an incongruous and gratuitous idea in a critical system of thought; such a concept is a residuum of the dogmatic philosophy which considers causality as such a thing in itself. In critical philosophy, the concept of causality is bound up with the schema of time, which is a form of intuition, and therefore the thing in itself, a noumenon beyond time, cannot be the cause of the phenomena which are in time. Consequently, the idea of a thing in itself must either be understood as a fiction of the imagination, or as an ideal goal, namely, the solution of all problems concerning an object of experience, fully rationalized and categorized. Or the thing in itself can be identified with those elements of our consciousness, concerning an object, which are not ordered in a definite synthesis; in other words, with conditions the cause of which is unknown to the mind. All these various conceptions and formulations of the idea of a thing in itself are to be found in Maimon.

## THE PROPHET IN MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE\*

JACOB B. AGUS, Baltimore

EVERY culture is the collective effort of a human society to rise above the sheer pressures of life and to attain a victory, however small, of spontaneity over routine, freedom over necessity, love over callousness, spirit over matter. While the content of the human spirit and the nature of the resisting matter undergo endless variations, the contest is usually represented in symbols and images that are concrete enough to appeal to the popular imagination. Always, the underlying impetus of any culture is visualized in the guise of a hero, who has already attained, and in the fullest measure, that which the group as a whole sets as its goal. The hero is the underlying *élan* of a society, incarnate and resplendent. In ancient societies, the hero usually belonged to the misty caverns of the past but, whether of the past or of the future, he represented at all times the consummation of the dearest hopes of his society.

The central hero-image in Jewish religious culture is the prophet. Round this image are concentrated the memories of Israel's greatness — Moses and the exodus from Egypt, the emergence of those religious ideals that made possible the return from Babylonia, and the genesis of the two daughter-faiths of Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Upon the assurance of the prophetic words, the hopes of the Messianic future rested, and the Kingdom of God was to be marked by the universal attainment of prophecy, or at least by every Jew's achieving this rank.

The Messiah too was to be a prophet (Sanhedrin 93b).<sup>1</sup> In addition, the great pietists during the medieval and early modern period dreamed of attaining some of the lower degrees of prophecy. And, in

\*Goldenson Lecture of April 24, 1957.

<sup>1</sup> Saadia describes the Messianic age as follows: "Then prophecy will reappear in the midst of our people so that even our sons and slaves will prophesy. Thus, Joel declared: 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh. And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. Your old men shall dream, your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out My spirit' " (Joel 3.1, 2).

It follows that when one of the children of Israel will go to a distant land and say, "I am of Israel"; people will say to him, "Tell us what the morrow will bring!" (*Emunoth VeDeoth*, chap. VIII, 6).

modern times, the prophet was the symbol of Jewish originality, since he articulated the deepest longings of the people in the days of their sovereignty, and he battled valiantly against the incursions of foreign influence. Creative originality is almost inevitably envisaged in the terms of the prophetic situation — the hero who disdains the clamor of the crowd and shatters the idols of the market place, listening with single-minded zeal to the “still, small voice” within his breast that is the voice of God.<sup>2</sup>

The central significance of the image of the prophet in the evolution of Judaism can be understood only when it is compared with the hero-images of other cultures. Without presuming to be exhaustive, we limit our survey to the Western World and call attention to the hero-image of the philosopher in Hellenism, the saint in Catholicism, the artist and the engineer of modern times.<sup>3</sup> To understand the similarities and dissimilarities of these hero-images, we shall do well to envisage the three coordinates of the spiritual life. These three lines of intellectual and emotional dynamism converge upon the soul of man, and all the variations in the history of human culture can be plotted in this three-dimensional space. The three coordinates are the channels leading from the soul to nature, either to the elements of nature within the human personality or physical nature generally; from the soul to human society, either a limited group of people or humanity as a whole: the avenue leading from the soul to God, either God as the transcendent Absolute or a lesser god reflecting a more primitive stage of religion. Along each of these three coordinates, the soul might be conceived as a recipient of values or as a progenitor of standards and goals — i. e. the human soul might be in an active or a passive position.

Plotted on this spatial graph, the philosopher is active or outgoing in respect of nature. He seeks to impose the logical order of mathematics upon physical nature and, within the human personality, he seeks to enthrone the reflective and free sovereignty of the soul by

<sup>2</sup> Yeshurun Kesheth expatiates on the modern significance of the prophetic heritage in his brilliant essay, *Shirath Hamikra* (*Devir*, Tel Aviv, 1955). He maintains that only a return to the prophetic pattern of spirituality can save mankind, for in prophecy “the love of truth is blended with the love of the good” (p. 90). Though his analytical procedure is different from the one followed in this essay, he too recognizes the phenomenon of prophecy as the epitome of Hebraic cultural creativity.

<sup>3</sup> The hero-image of Medieval Knighthood is a composite creation, containing two antithetical facets, deriving, the one from Christianity the other from primitive paganism, and appealing, the one to Christian culture and the other to the aggressive instincts of pre-culture man.



means of rigid training and self-discipline. He is both active and passive along the coordinates of human society — active, in that the ideal philosopher is either the ruler or the teacher of rulers; yet, also passive because the philosopher's strength consists in his ability to withdraw from the pulls and pressures of society. The coordinate of human society was in Hellenic literature at first limited to Greeks, and, within the Hellenic world, to one community or *polis*. But this limitation was overcome by the early Stoics, and the philosopher was envisaged as a citizen of the universe. In respect of the third coordinate, the philosopher was conceived as active, attaining knowledge of the Divine by means of active, sustained search. The philosopher was an athlete of the spirit reaching by gradual ascents the highest levels of contemplation of the Supreme Being.

The saint is active in respect to his own human nature, striving constantly to subdue it to God's service; yet, he is also passive, disbelieving in the sufficiency of his own powers and acknowledging that success in this endeavor is an act of Grace. While the classic philosopher maintained that truth was possible and the Stoic sage asserted that virtue was possible and the Epicurean master claimed that happiness was possible, the saint contended that none of these goals was attainable without the gift of Grace. The saint responds in a passive manner to the challenge of physical nature, seeking to withdraw from it, not to master it. His attitude to human society is both active and passive — active, in that he seeks to convert people to his ways of piety; also passive, in that, for the most part, he withdraws from society into a limited or nuclear City of God, whether it be the Church or the Monastery. In regard to the coordinate leading to the Absolute, the saint is totally and typically passive. And therein the burning focus of his personality is to be found. He is completely and without any reservations submissive, yielding his mind, his feelings, his moral judgment and his will to God.<sup>4</sup> He sees no source of values other than those which God dictates and, at his best, is completely the passive vessel of the Divine Will. At the loftiest peaks of his religious experience, the saint is a mystic, feeling himself governed from without, led about hither and thither, almost without a will of his own.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Instructive is the observation of the Midrash concerning the difference between Abraham and Noah (Jewish prophet and non-Jewish saint). While Abraham attained perfection of piety by his own powers, Noah needed the constant aid and support of God (Genesis Rabba, XXX. 10).

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn Underhill devotes a whole chapter to this stage in the life of the mystic. See her *Mysticism*.



The predominant feature of the artist is his passivity toward nature. As a craftsman, the artist is a perfect seer and hearer of the plenitude of impressions that impinge upon his consciousness. As an artist in the Western World, he does not, like a spider, spin silken threads out of his own peculiar fancy but selects, for emphasis, the aspects of nature that are particularly meaningful to the people of his time. When art is turned into a philosophy of life, human nature in all its fulness is celebrated and afforded expression. The ideal of "living according to nature" emerges into full view. The artist does not seek to reform society, and the tension within the soul of Tolstoy is an illustration of this point. In respect to the coordinate of pure being or God, the artist again is passive, allowing validity neither to man's reason nor to man's conscience, seeking to grasp the fulness of existence as a unity — i. e. he employs intuition, arriving at philosophies like those of Bergson or of Schelling.

The hero-image of the engineer is still in the making. It is active along all three coordinates. Physical nature is to be molded at will, and human nature is to be fashioned eventually according to precise specifications. The society of mankind must be run according to a unified all-embracing plan. Even God is to be treated pragmatically and employed insofar as He "works." As passivity along all three coordinates is the mark of the artist, activity is the distinguishing feature of the engineer, who is the emergent cultural hero of secular civilization.

The prophet is both active and passive along all three coordinates. He is both artist and engineer, both philosopher and saint, so that perpetual tension and dynamic restlessness is the characteristic mark of his being.

He is both active and passive in regard to the Supreme Being, submissive in his function as a messenger of the Lord but assertive in his insistence on the validity of the promptings of his conscience. The distinguishing feature of the Hebrew prophets is not their submissiveness to the ecstasies of mysticism, which was a familiar phenomenon in the ancient world, but their firm conviction that the voice of conscience somehow merged insensibly into the Divine Will. Not that conscience alone was a sufficient guide. The prophets were mystics as well as humanists, yielding alternately to the Divine command and to the ethical challenge in the unshakable conviction that the two imperatives were somehow one in the ultimate mystery of the Divine Will. Thus, the prophets could on occasion remonstrate with the Deity. They sensed the peace that passes understanding, even as does the mystic, but they did not focus attention on their

feelings. The Word of God was for them a supreme Command, transcending all rational understanding, but, paradoxically enough, continuous and congruous with the voice of conscience.<sup>6</sup> In contradiction to Kierkegaard and his neo-orthodox followers, as well as in opposition to liberal humanism, the point in the tale of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac was double-pronged. Abraham was to obey the Divine Command even when it seemed irrational but, in the final analysis, the Divine Will merges and coincides with the rational promptings of man's own nature. The ideal prophet is solicitous both for "the honor of the son as well as the honor of the Father" (i. e. for man as well as for God), (Machilta, Bo).

The prophet is also both active and passive in regard to human society. He is concerned with the task of bringing God's Word to the children of man, establishing the Kingdom of Heaven in time and on earth. Yet, the prophet is not a futurist, seeking to rush mankind by forced marches to the ideal goal. Unlike a revolutionary reformer, he is humble enough to wait for God's own time, and unlike a pseudo-Messianist he holds that the drama of redemption takes place within the human heart. He envisions the future as clearly as if it were within reach, yet in saintly humility he bides his time, praying for the favor of Him Who at times "hides his face" (Isa. 8.17). His message is not of the moment and not directed to one individual. The prophet assumes that all his hearers can tell the authenticity of his message, for God speaks to all men, though more clearly to prophets. Those who act as if they did not hear God's Word deliberately shut their ears. The appeal of the prophet is to a kind of "intersubjective hearing" and judging.

This twofold attitude to human society is best seen in the attitude of the prophets to the two societies in the Divine scheme — the people of Israel and humanity as a whole. Ultimately, God's Will is to prevail throughout the world, but He will achieve this consummation in His own good time. The prophets do not undertake missionary journeys among the nations, save one, Jonah, and he reluctantly. Their vision of a redeemed humanity is to be achieved neither by universal conquest, nor by the infectious enthusiasm of a world-wide preaching tour, but in quietude and resignation. However, within the community of Israel, the prophets assume an active, even aggressive role; insisting that the "vineyard of the Lord" be kept utterly

<sup>6</sup> In Cabala, where vestiges of the prophetic tradition are contained, *Din*, or the incomprehensible Divine decree, is in the highest spheres, completely absorbed in *Rahamim*, which is the humanly experienced quality of Mercy.

free of weeds and be made immediately to produce luscious fruits. The prophetic message to the people of Israel could well be summed up in that famous motto, which could be made to serve several different philosophies of life — "to thine own self be true." In the genius of the prophets, Israel was to be true to itself in such a manner as to be for that very reason true to the universal soul of mankind. This is the deeper meaning of the prophetic conception of the Covenant.<sup>7</sup>

In respect to the coordinate of nature, the prophet again is both active and passive. Having grown out of the institution of "sons of the prophets," the prophet was doubtless originally a person who practised some form of ascetic self-discipline. Elijah was obviously an ascetic. Yet, in contrast to the prophets of the Baal, his preparatory exercises were predominantly prayer, earnest contemplation, and whole-souled listening to the voice of God. In later Judaism, the ideal image of the prophet involved an arduous ascent on the ladder of self-conquest. Rabbi Pinḥas ben Yair lists a series of steps leading to the gift of *Ruah Haḳodesh*, and Maimonides describes *Ruah Haḳodesh* as the lowest of eleven degrees of prophecy (Abodah Zara 20b, *Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 45).

At the same time, the prophets take account of the fulness of human nature. They do not advocate either celibacy or mortification of the flesh or incessant struggle against the impulses of nature, or resistance to the advance of civilization. A deep appreciation of the dignity of the human personality is embraced in the prophetic message. (Isa. 13.12, 13, the translation should be in the present, not past tense.) Jeremiah commends the Rechabites for their loyalty to their ancestral way of life, but he does not demand that the Israelites should give up city life. In all their descriptions of the future world, there abound earthly joys and the healthy fragrance of fields and forests. Their motto is "life according to God's Will," not "according to nature;" yet, they do not demand that which is against nature.

It follows that the hero-image of the prophet has affinities with the hero-images previously described. Alike to the philosopher, in the coordinates of nature and mankind, the prophet differs in respect to his attitude toward God. Alike to the saint in respect of society, he differs in respect of both God and nature. The artist and the engineer represent one-sided images of him, for they are either wholly passive or wholly active along all three coordinates, while he maintains a

<sup>7</sup> R. Ḥasdai Crescas offers a somewhat similar explanation of the failure of the prophets to organize preaching missions to the gentiles. They preach *about* other nations, not *to* them (*Or Adonai*, 2.4, 3).

dynamic, tense equilibrium and a sense of balance in all three domains of the spiritual life. Yet, the artist as poet and the engineer as social planner or reformer reflect tangential aspects of his towering personality.

In one essential respect, the prophet differs from the other hero-images. As a rule, prophecy is regarded as the peculiar gift of God to Israel. While occasional passages maintain the occurrence of prophecy among other nations, this opinion is confined to certain personalities mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures. The predominant opinion in our sacred tradition is that only Israel is the people of prophecy. In a sense, all sons of Israel are "sons of the prophets." The Jews beheld in the image of the prophet an ideal representation of their own collective being. Thus, the ambivalence of pride and dedication that is implicit in the concept of chosenness was focused on the image of the prophet. On the one hand, the prophetic ideal reflected the noblest aspirations of the Jewish people, their dedication to the task of bearing the knowledge of God to the nations. On the other hand, the calling of the prophet lent an aura of superiority and self-worshipping adulation to Jewish consciousness. And the tension between these two polar attitudes within the heart of Israel contributed in no small measure to that peculiar awareness of isolation which is the soul of his tragic history. The vision of the prophet towered high as the mountain of Sinai with the cloud of glory resting upon it; the masses of the people saw chiefly its earthly base and stood at a distance, while only a few brave souls ventured like Moses into the cloud, up the steep slopes and toward the holy summit.

As the prophetic ideal receded into the mists of the past, Judaism entered the phase of crystallization, making do with the leadership of lesser personalities. The First Ḥasidim still preserved the pattern of prophetic piety, at least as an ideal. Along the coordinate of nature, puritan zealotry made its appearance; along the highway to mankind, the wide vistas were narrowed and high barriers were raised; along the gateway to God, submissive feeling was threatened by the frost of formalistic obedience, and the assertive spirit was curbed.

The descent from the peak of prophecy is implicit in the ideal itself. For prophecy is a momentary phenomenon. The prophet is not "transfigured" permanently, as in Buddhist or in some Christian theologies. When the lightning-like moment of the dialogue with God is over, the prophet can only seek to recall the golden moment and yearn for its recurrence. Hence, the lyrical pathos in his utterances. Also, he brings the ineffable fluid content of ecstasy into the light of his intelligence, where the protean glow of belonging to the Infinite is transformed into the firm assurance of a binding, permanent

relationship, the awareness of being "covenanted" unto God. The "covenant-relationship" is the ecstasy of the dialogue-experience translated into sober terms and projected outward into the external world of time and space. By degrees, this relationship is spelled out in a series of general principles and specific laws. Thus, the prophet, descending from the summit, becomes successively: a preacher, recalling the Covenant; a sage reexamining the life of his day in the light of Divine first principles and against the background of his vision; a priest, seeking to preserve the element of mystery in the Divine encounter and to dramatize this mystery in a series of rituals; a scribe, preserving the laws, the crystallized expressions of fluid moments of inspiration, counting the letters of sacred Scriptures and transmitting the tradition to successive generations.

It follows that these hero-images of Judaism were not anti-prophetic but representations of the prophet, in his sober uninspired moments. Aaron, the priest, is the spokesman and pragmatic interpreter of Moses. Alas, at times, too pragmatic. The conflict between Amos and the high priest of Beth-el, however, is not as typical as the nearly unbroken record of collaboration between prophets and priests. In later Judaism, the high priest was vouchsafed the privilege of approaching the Shechinah once a year. And Ezra, the priest was also the scribe, par excellence. His function was to count the words and interpret the meaning of previous revelations, but he was not completely devoid of the prophetic aura. "Ezra was worthy of being the agent for the Almighty to give the Torah, but Moses preceded him" (Sanhedrin 21b). The sages of later years were frequently said to be worthy of the Shechinah's resting upon them. For prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to the wise (Baba Bathra 12a). Great rabbis were believed capable of ascending to heaven for conversations with heavenly beings (Midrash *Eleh Ezkerah*, Yellinek, 64-72). They were believed to be effective intercessors for the people, providing they possessed a "broken and humbled heart," as well as an immense store of sacred learning (Ta'anith 24a).

Still, the hero-image of the prophet was never completely forgotten, and whenever it reappeared on the horizon, a renaissance of Judaism took place. We recognize the lineaments of this vision in the personality of Hillel and in the movement he led to base the Oral Law on the foundation of an implicit, inner logic and by recognition of the golden rule as its central core. We recognize the prophetic ideal in the life and thought of Philo and in the great movement of philosophical Judaism, which seeks to recapture the essential tension of true religion, in both its active and passive phases, i. e. the tension between piety



and ethics, mysticism and rationalism. Fragments of this ideal are recaptured in the Essenic societies, in the circles of proto-cabalists and cabalists. And as we approach the modern age and the rebirth of Hebrew literature, we encounter once again the heroic image of the prophet on the threshold of the new era.

## II

The first titanic figure of modern Hebrew literature was a prophetic personality of many and diverse talents. Rabbi Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto shared in the ecstatic visions of the Hebrew prophets, in their sense of total identification with the life of the people, in their overwhelming sensation of the overpowering nearness of the Divine Being, in their hunger for purity of soul and the perfection of love, in their lyrical quality of poetic composition — above all, in the power to see all things with the freshness of a creative imagination. Compelled to interpret his immense gifts, psychic upheavals and volcanic imagination in terms of the complex and rigid dogmas of his day, Luzzatto believed that saints of long ago and winged seraphim conversed with him, dictating to him magnificent works of sacred lore. In the prevailing concepts of his generation, the protean events of his great and restless soul could no longer be described in the simple formula of the Biblical prophets, "thus spake the Lord." During the Talmudic and post-Talmudic period, the normative conception of God in Judaism became ever more decisively transcendent. In the official "targumim," the Word (*Memra*) or the Presence (*Shechinah*) or the Glory (*Kavod*) of God was interposed in those places where the text read God. In the Mishnah, no angels are mentioned at all, save for the quasi-angelic figure of Elijah. In the Talmud and later Midrashim, ecstatic and mystical experiences are pressed into the mold of a "revelation of Elijah." As the subterranean stream of cabalistic mysticism burst into the open in the latter half of the thirteenth century, "prophetic cabala" made its appearance in the erratic career of Abraham Abulafia. Elaborate schemes were worked out for the attainment of interviews with diverse heavenly beings, ranging from the imaginary characters of the Zohar to a class of anonymous *Maggidim*, or "revealers."

Pressed within this dogmatic context, the prophetic consciousness degenerated into a feverish catharsis of self-exaltation. In the *Maggid Mesharim* of Rabbi Joseph Karo and in the *Sefer Haḥezyonoth* of Rabbi Ḥayyim Vital, we look in vain for the stirring of a noble passion or the insights of a creative imagination. Virtually the sole



content of both books revolves round the wondrous greatness of the two authors, describing the amazing delights that await them in heaven.

Though Luzzatto's *Maggidim*, heavenly "revealers," conformed to the general type, there were remarkable and fresh overtones in his writings. The Hebrew style of his writings is chaste, simple, precise and responsive to the logic of modern grammar. Whatever the nature of his inspiration, the quality of his literary creations is uniformly high. In him, the lyricism of the prophets is reborn as well as their ethical fervor and their genius for distinguishing the kernel of piety from its shell. His "revelations," for all their superstitious framework, open up a new era. Themes borrowed from Italian poetry blend naturally with ideas and symbols deriving from cabala. The love of God takes on, in his dramas, the charm and gentleness of earthly love. Mundane life and love are seen fresh and new, as if they were bathed in heavenly radiance. The human personality in its yearning for beauty and the fulness of expression, moves back into focus and the great movement of Jewish humanism is launched.

Different aspects of Luzzatto's personality appealed to the different builders of the Hebraic renaissance. The *Maskilim* were enthralled by his poems and dramas, seeing in him the first author of secular literature in the new era. The *Hasidim* loved and studied his marvelously lucid expositions of cabalistic metaphysics and psychology. The "lovers of Zion" expatiated on the symbolic significance of his journey to the Holy Land, since his visions could be considered pure and holy only if they occurred in the ancestral land of Israel. The Gaon, Elijah of Vilna, himself a center of renewed interest in secular wisdom, admired above all Luzzatto's ethical-pietistic classic, *Mesillath Yesharim*. He who so cruelly castigated the *Hasidim* for their exaggerated adulation of their *Zaddikim*, is said to have declared, "had the author of the *Path of the Righteous* been still living, I should have set out on a pilgrimage to learn the ways of piety under his guidance" (Zinberg's *Di Geshikhte fun der Literatur bei Yidn*, vol. V, p. 221). And the opinion of this preeminent scholar coincided in this instance with the feelings of the unlearned masses who formed societies for the study of this little volume.

Indeed, the *Path of the Righteous* is a reflection of the prophetic consciousness, at its best. In this volume, the vagaries of mystical feeling are brushed aside, so that the relation of man to God might be presented in all its chasteness and sublimity, its heaven-storming aspiration and its earthly practicality. Truly remarkable is the absence in this work of that dismal phantasmagoria of superstitious piety,

centering round Satan and his hordes, the "outsiders" who plot the downfall of man in this world and stoke the fires of hell in the hereafter. Suffice it to bring to mind two popular ethical-pietistic works of the same genre, *Kav Hayashar* and *Reshith Hochma*, to note the uniqueness of Luzzatto's work. The first work is replete with malicious devils, tales of horrible punishment for the least infraction of any ritual law and instructions regarding various devices for the overcoming of the "other side." Man was created "to observe the Torah, the laws and the commandments," and woe betides him, if he is neglectful (Chap. 1). Elijah di Vidas' work, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, commences its exposition of piety with the "gate of fear," detailing the injury done to the sinner's personality, to his higher soul and to the Shechinah by every infraction of the Law. It describes the horrors of *Hibbut Hakever*, the beating of the dead at the grave as well as the terrors of the various caverns of hell, adding for good measure, the fear of being reborn in this hateful world (*Reshith Hochmah*, First Gate, Tractate *Gehinnom*).

In contrast to this fear-born jungle of fantastic horrors, Luzzatto's world is fresh and sunny, high as the heavens and open on all sides. Hell is not even mentioned and its dark, ubiquitous minions are brushed aside. The purpose of man's life is defined not in the servile terms of blind obedience, but in the accents of happiness and fulfillment. "Man was created for the sole purpose of delighting in God and basking in the radiance of His Shechinah, for this pleasure is the greatest and most genuine of all joys in existence" (Chap. 1). To be sure, the goal of man's life is set in the hereafter, but it is a bright and beautiful vista, in which all men may share to the extent of their merit. Nor is the radiance of the Shechinah totally removed from the ordinary concerns of our mundane existence, for the Spirit of Holiness (*Ruah Hakodesh*) may be attained in our lifetime. Not only the preeminent Torah-scholars but every ordinary artisan may aspire to "direct his heart toward the goal of clinging truly unto God, till a spirit from above is poured upon him, the Name of God is bestowed upon him, even as the Lord acts toward His saints. Then he will become actually like an angel of the Lord with all his deeds even the lowliest and the most material being accepted as sacrifices and offerings" (Chap. 26).

The piety of Luzzatto is prophetic in the brightness of its spiritual horizon, in the goal of quasi-prophecy that it sets for the pious and in the powerful ethical quality of its teachings. A child of his age, he could still write "that forbidden foods introduce real uncleanness into the heart and spirit of man so that the holiness of the Lord re-

moves itself and departs from him" (Chap. 11). Nevertheless, his predominant emphasis is purely ethical. He reflects the spirit of the Renaissance in his call for a principle of balance and harmony to govern the aspirations of piety (Chap. 20). Thus, he allows that the pious must take account of the way their deeds impress men and women outside the fold, refraining from actions which excite ridicule (Chap. 20). If Luzzatto's sage advice had been followed by the Hasidim of Poland, the tragic battles regarding the *Kapotes* and the *Yarmulkes* would not have been necessary. While Luzzatto did not embrace all of mankind in his purview, he did accord some weight to the opinions of non-Jews. To the veritable horror of his rabbinic judges, he studied the secular and Latin cultures of his day and, in his literary works, he strove for grace and precision of expression. Remaining within the walls of the Law, he concentrated attention on its spiritual kernel. And, going beyond the Law, he called for new and creative ways of serving God, so as to articulate in original actions the dynamic spirit of piety.

### III

Luzzatto was a lonely and exotic reincarnation of the ideal image of the prophet. But, his tragic career proved the impossibility of the resplendent ideal for the European Jews of the middle of the eighteenth century.

In some of the Western countries, the fresh breezes of a new world were beginning to be felt, consigning to oblivion the mystic muses of Cabala. In the East, Rabbi Hagiz, the leading persecutor of Luzzatto, aroused widespread support with his motto, "whatever is new is prohibited by the Torah." When the unitary stream of European Jewish history was bifurcated into Western and Eastern currents, the prophetic ideal was fragmentized in both areas of Jewish settlement. And, in both East and West, the respective fragments were sufficiently potent to win a massive popular following.

In Western Europe, a significant fragment of the prophetic vision was recaptured in the ideals of the Haskalah. In the horizon of the classical prophets, the Jewish people were seen against the background of mankind as a whole. God was concerned with the salvation of Assyria and Egypt even as He strove for the redemption of Israel. The Jewish people did not monopolize the entire horizon of the prophets, who interpreted the Jewish task in the light of the needs of all mankind. This synoptic vision, all but lost in the dark centuries of persecution, was now made the central focus of Jewish interest.

In the philosophy of Mendelssohn, man is the object of Divine concern, not solely the people of Israel. The Torah, Divine though it be, is not really necessary either for the good life in this world or for salvation in the hereafter. The *Mitzvoth* were interpreted as ceremonies, binding upon the Jew, because God willed it so, but not intrinsically of significance to the rest of mankind. Furthermore, it is through the realization of all the potentialities of man's nature, especially his love of beauty and his faculty for reasoning, that God is best served.

N. H. Weisel propagated the ideals of Haskalah in pamphlet after pamphlet, calling for the acceptance of the "Torah of man" — i. e. humanistic values and goals. Yet, his humanism was profoundly religious as well as ethical and esthetic. In his campaign for a new program of education, he stresses the prophetic approach — i. e. emphasis on the spiritual core of religious life. Neither Mendelssohn nor Weisel followed the counsel of the Talmud to limit the pursuit of secular studies to the twilight hour, "which is neither day nor night" (Menahoth 99b). They considered philosophy, literature, and culture to be part of the "Torah of man." The *Maskilim* translated into Hebrew the apocalyptic literature, and in their schools they stressed the teaching of the Scriptures, as against the Talmud. Their followers composed moralistic tracts along with literary creations, and the greatest achievement of the German *Maskilim*, appropriately enough, was the long epic of Weisel on the life of Moses, "the Master of the prophets."

Another fragment of the heroic image of the prophet became a dynamic force among the Jews of Eastern Europe. Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov, virtually a contemporary of Luzzatto, rediscovered the full pathos and splendor of mystical piety, thereby launching the magnificent mass-movement of Ḥasidism. To be sure, the *Ẓaddikim* did not claim the rank of prophecy, but they averred that they were blessed with the wondrous gifts of the Spirit of Holiness (*Ruah Ha-kodesh*) which Maimonides describes as the first level of prophecy.

So successful were the *Ẓaddikim*, in the early years of the movement, in attaining high states of mystical ecstasy that they wondered why it was so easy in their day to commune with the Shechinah, though in earlier ages it appeared difficult. The assertive aspect of prophetic piety was exemplified in the bold innovations of the Ḥasidim — chiefly, their insistence that the unlearned man could reach the highest places in heaven and their declaration that it is the soul of Divine service that matters, not its external forms. In folk-Ḥasidism, Rabbi Levi Yizhak of Berdichev emerged as the great protagonist of

the people of Israel who, in the ardor of his defense, dared to challenge the justice of God Himself, as it were.

Hasidism was in many ways a revival of popular prophetism. The attainment of mystical ecstasy was consciously set as the goal of all *Baalei Madregah* (those who aimed at high levels of achievement). (See description of five stages of ecstasy in *Kuntros Hahithpaaluth* of *Der Miteler Rav*.) While some Hasidic groups envisaged this goal in the crude terms of the ancient bands of prophetizers and modern backwoods revivalists, other groups developed exceedingly refined and subtle forms of mystical contemplation. On a less ethereal plane, they rediscovered the meaning of prayer as a Dialogue with God and the possibility of worshipping him in new and unconventional ways. Along the highway of the soul to man, they developed a new communal form, the voluntary community centering round the saint. On the plane of human nature, they combatted the ascetic tendencies of an earlier era, cultivated the arts of singing, dancing, and story-telling, and stressed the joys of fellowship and conviviality.

The *Zaddik* of the Hasidim was a prophet in miniature. Some *Zaddikim* were modelled after the wonder-working early prophets, like Samuel, Elijah and Elisha, while the truly great teachers among them sought to exemplify in a small way the careers of the classical prophets. Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav taught that the "true *Zaddik* of every generation was in the category of Moses-Messiah" (*Likkutei Moharan* I.9; 118). Through him, the flow of Divine Grace was channelled from heaven to earth. Even so intellectual a teacher as Rav Shneur Zalman taught that the people generally derived their "sustenance" through the agency of the saints of their day (*Tanya*, chap. 2). While the *Zaddik* was not an agent of revelation, he was himself a representation of Divine Revelation, since the non-Divine soul in his personality was completely transformed into a Divine entity. Accordingly, even "the way he put on his stockings" was Torah. In other Hasidic writings, the *Zaddik* was exalted to such dizzying heights, as to surpass even the hero-image of the prophet. Thus, Rabbi Elimelech of Lizensk asserted that "the eyes of God are in the *Zaddik*, so that it is within his power to open the eyes of the Creator, blessed be He, upon Israel" (*No'am Elimelech, lech lecha*). The *Zaddik* was thus elevated to the rank of a mediator, for it is through him that not only God's Word, but His sustaining vitality is channelled (*ibid.*, *Miketz*). No achievement is beyond his power, not even the final redemption. "The *Zaddik* can bring about all things, including the advent of the Messiah" (*ibid.*, *Shemoth*).



## IV

The fragmentation of the prophetic hero-image ended in frustration and tragedy for both branches of European Jewry. In the West, preoccupation with esthetic goals and humanistic values lowered the barriers of the inner ghetto walls to the point where total assimilation became a mass-movement. The one-sided emphasis of the German Haskalah on the "Torah of man" awakened longings for immediate union with the nations of Europe so as to end the long travail of exile. For the sake of an emergent new humanity in Europe, many a Jew was willing to sacrifice the consolation and comfort of his traditional heritage. The men and women who led the way to the baptismal font in the Nineteenth Century were not always sick souls, afflicted with self-hatred (the term was not yet invented) but, in many cases, idealists who were lured by the universalistic facet of the prophetic vision. Many of them did not forsake their people with cold, calculating callousness, but they allowed their Jewish loyalties and sentiments to be sacrificed on the altar of their new faith in humanity and European culture. Men like Heine and Börne, Friedrich Stahl and Edward Gans were not vulgar materialists. Some of the best sons of our people belonged to the tribe of which Heine sang, "those who die when they love." Dazzled by the bright prospect of one humanity, they could see no purpose in Jewish survival and, as they severed their last ties with their past, they imagined that they helped fulfill the vision of the prophet.

"Yea, at that time I will change the speech of the peoples to a pure speech, that all of them may call on the name of the Lord and serve Him with one accord" (Zeph. 3.9).

Thus, the fragment of prophetic vision in Haskalah led to its own decay and disappearance.

Similarly frustrating was the fate of that fragment of prophetism that was embodied in Ḥasidism. While the German Haskalah saw only the man in the Jew, the Ḥasidim saw only the Jew in the Jew and mighty little else in the world beside the Jew. From the sacred writings of Cabala, the Ḥasidim received the belief that only the souls of Jews were derived from God (*Shefa Tal*, chap. 1). Non-Jews possessed only sparks of the various "shells," whence too, Satan and his demonic cohorts were derived (*Likkutei Amorim*, by R. Shneur Zalman, chaps. 1, 6). Operating with this fundamental principle of "psychology," the Ḥasidim allowed no room in their world either for humanity or for human values. Their religious life, for all its



intensity and nobility, was therefore exceedingly narrow, benighted and utterly unworldly.

In the mists of folk-legendry enveloping the figure of the Baal Shem Tov, we can recognize occasional glimmerings of a wider horizon. Thus, we are told that, in one of his ascents to heaven, he learned that the heavenly tribunal was planning severe decrees against the Jews, because of the sins of Jewish peddlers in cheating the ignorant peasants (*Shivhei HaBesht*, 34). There are extant, too, literary versions of folk-tales extolling the virtue of kindness to gentiles (Peretz's *If Not Higher*). But, on the whole, the Ḥasidim ruthlessly limited the horizons of their world to the concerns of Jews and things Jewish. With misplaced zeal they fought against the efforts of the Russian government to have them wear European garments. (See *Ger* by Alfasi, a history of the "Gerer" dynasty.) With the redoubled fanaticism of the hopeless and despairing, they conducted a holy war against secular education and against the intrusion of humanistic values. (See Shoul Ginsburg's *Historishe Verk*, volume one, p. 63.) Within two generations, the Ḥasidic movement lost all the creative *élan* that it ever possessed; the light of originality was quenched for want of fresh air, and the smoke of fanaticism grew ever more dense and acrid.

The moral failure of Ḥasidism to take into account the wide horizons of humanity and the hard facts of reality generated the mood of widespread rebelliousness among the literary *Maskilim* in Russia. Levinson, "the Mendelssohn of Russia," protested against the prevailing spirit of unreality, the inability of the pious masses to take stock of their opportunities in the fields of agriculture and skilled labor. So unworldly were the masses and so visionary were their leaders that it was necessary for quasi-heretics to urge the people to engage in agriculture and in physical labor.

Most of the Hebrew writers in the first part of the Nineteenth Century were satirists and protestants. And the target of their bitter criticism was the hero-image of the prophet, distorted as this image had become in the shadowy world of Ḥasidism. Isaac Erter and Joseph Pearl attacked the image of the *Zaddik* directly in their clever parodies. Other *Maskilim* fought the battle for humanism on the front of education, proclaiming as their motto, "Be a Jew in your tent, and a man when you go out." Publicists and novelists in their several ways, bewailed the abuse of the "prophet-people" conception.

The leading figure of Russian Haskalah assailed the image of the prophet, which he beheld in the guise of the Orthodox rabbis, who by his time had made common cause with the Ḥasidic *Zaddikim*. Thus,

J. L. Gordon, foremost spokesman of Haskalah, capped his career with a long poem of bitter invective against the prophet Jeremiah. In *Zidkiyahu beveth Hapekudoth*, the last King of Judah is heard lamenting,

אך מה און פעלתי? מה פשעתי?  
 יען לפני ירמיהו לא נכנעתי?  
 לפני איש רך הלב, בעל נפש נכנעת  
 אשר יעץ לנו בשת, עבדות, משמעת  
 ואני מאנתי עצתו לשמע,  
 כי אמרתי ברזל, ברזל ירע

But wherein did I err? What is  
 my guilt?  
 Because to Jeremiah I did not  
 submit?  
 The soft-hearted man, of soul  
 cringing,  
 Who counselled shame, servi-  
 tude, yielding.  
 But I refused his counsel to take,  
 For I said, iron should iron  
 break. . .

עוד זאת, ברית חדשה ברא ליהודה  
 כל עם הארץ, מקטנם עד גדולם  
 ילמדו דברי ספר, תורה ותעורה.

This, too, he a new covenant for  
 Judah proposed,  
 All the people, young and old  
 Should study bookish things and  
 teachings.

איש ואיש יאמר לא אחרש, לא אדוש  
 כי בן ממלכת כהנים אני וגוי קדוש.

Every man should say, I'll not  
 plow, I'll not harvest.  
 A son am I of a kingdom of  
 priests and a holy people.

Gordon's protest against the prophetic hero-image reflected the struggle of the enlightened against the wizened Orthodoxy of both the Hasidim and the Mithnagdim. Weak echoes of the debate on religious reforms in the West appeared in Hebrew literature, but the predominant concern of the *Maskilim* was to make room for secular and humanistic interests within Jewish life. Their tragedy was the absence of any objective foundation for a secular culture. A prophet-people Israel could be, but not just a people. In the sixties and seventies of the last century, Russian Haskalah saw itself in the strange position of winning a battle and losing a people at one and the same time. Masses of Jewish people heeded the call of the *Maskilim* all too well, and, rebelling against the narrow horizons of Jewish life, plunged into the wide ocean of Russia, leaving behind them the new Hebraic literature as well as their ancient faith.

## V

The fragmentation of the prophetic ideal into mysticism and humanism ended in tragic futility in both East and West. But, it was not long before the prophetic ideal in its fulness was rediscovered in the West, making possible a subsequent revival of prophetism in Russia.

In Germany and Austria, the rise of liberal or non-dogmatic Judaism with its two wings, the "prophetic" and the "historical" recreated the original conception of the prophet and the prophet-people. The builders of Reform Judaism recognized the error of Mendelssohn in reducing the specific area of the Jewish religion to the domain of rites and ceremonies. If what is essentially Jewish is the ballast of rituals which an advancing people steadily leaves behind it, there is no justification for Jewish existence. Judaism must be seen as a call to cooperate in building the future, not as an archaic remnant of a "Jerusalem" that once represented the Will of God.

Geiger and his associates discovered that, in terms of essential religious ideas, Judaism was far more congruent with the mature modern mind than Christianity. For in Judaism, the relation of man to God is active as well as passive, a stirring call to the daytime tasks of building the kingdom of heaven, not merely a soothing whisper for nighttime rest in the comfortable assurance of salvation. The hero-image of Judaism is the prophet, while the hero-image of Christianity wavers between the saint and the mystic, the crusader and the monk. And, if Judaism asserts its authentic message in the accents of the contemporary world, Christianity, too, is drawn away from the blandishments of its pagan components and toward a genuine prophetic faith.

Thus, the call of Reform was for a return to the prophetic faith, all along the line. Judaism was to become prophetic in stressing the inwardness of faith, in affirming the central ideals of ethical monotheism, and in preaching the essence of religion to all men. Prophetic, too, Judaism was to be in the sense of taking religion to be that which is alive within the heart of its people — hence, a willingness at all times to make a fresh effort to see all things synoptically, combining facets old and new. Dedicated to their ideals, the Jews can once again assume the destiny of a prophet-people. In liberal Judaism, the hero-image of the spiritual leader was shifted from that of priest-sage-scribe to that of sage-preacher-prophet. It was no longer to be the function of the rabbi to be the custodian of the laws and the guardian of the tradition, but like the prophet of old, he was to become the

instrument through whom God manifests the forward thrusts of His Purpose.

The proponents of "historical Judaism," Frankel and Graetz, entered the lists against Reform. Yet, when seen from the distance of a century, their efforts served to fill in the details of the prophetic hero-image. While the Reform wing emphasized the rational and assertive elements of the prophetic mentality, the Conservative wing stressed the passive situation of the individual within the massive processes of history, which include the fortuitous, the irrational and the national elements. The historians uncovered the connecting tissue between prophetism and rabbinism, proving the existence of an organic unity between prophecy and peoplehood, between inwardness and reverence for Divine Law. Thus, while one wing of modern Judaism stressed the message of the prophets to mankind, the other called attention to the psychic background of national soil and cultural context, out of which prophecy emerges. Later, Conservative writers were to complete the prophetic image by focusing the spotlight of research on the mystical elements which enter into the prophetic consciousness.

Thus, the fulness of the prophetic hero-image was reconstructed. Once again, the Jewish people could be seen against the backdrop of past and future and within the context of competing cultures and clashing ideologies. The Jew was to live not merely by the compulsions of a Divine mandate which, for the doubting and the hesitant, begged the question, but for the sake of a high purpose which could be read out of the historical experiences of mankind. And this purpose was conceived in terms so lofty as to transcend the actual reach of any generation. New this concept of a prophet-people was, in its non-ritualism and its non-dogmatism. The content of the prophetic message was not a list of commandments but the spirit of love, faithfulness, and truthfulness. The appeal of this vision was direct and immediate. Liberated from the dross of the ages, it evoked fresh loyalty and renewed enthusiasm among the Jews of the Western world.

In Krochmal's philosophy of Jewish history, this revived conception of a prophet-people was projected, albeit sketchily and vaguely. A people is formed by loyalty to a great ideal. In the unfolding of the Divine Purpose, one ideal after another enters into the actual process of history and merges gradually into the total, eternal treasury of mankind. Along with the rise of an ideal, the people embodying and representing it emerges upon the stage of history, and when the ideal sinks into eternity, the people lose their inner cohesion and descend from the stage. The Jewish people, in their worship of the Absolute

Spirit, containing the totality of ideals, is as eternal as the divine plan for mankind. Subject to the laws of nature and history, they too rise and fall, along with the ideals of their faith, but phoenix-like they emerge from the ashes and rise again with the dawn of the new ideal, that is for them but a fresh facet of Him whose seal is truth. For every ideal is but a revelation of the Divine Truth to which the Jewish people are dedicated.

In the progressive emergence of new ideals, the Jew constantly rediscovers his own faith.

The steady and massive growth of the new concept of "prophetic Judaism" in Germany and Austria slowed down, though it did not completely halt, the tide of frustration and despair in the Western world. The influence of this concept was also felt most powerfully in Russia. There, however, for many sociological and ideological reasons, the focus of attention was shifted from the message of the prophet to the national base for his pedestal. And this shift of focus was occasioned, at least in part, by the rise of romantic nationalism among the nations of Europe.

Romantic nationalism is the ideal of the prophet-people reversed and stood on its head. The seductive suggestion is put forward that the healthy and abundant life of the people produces authentic life-giving ideals, as a healthy tree produces the fruits of its own peculiar kind. This apparently innocent observation converts the prophetic ideal into a self-righteous, jingoistic slogan on the banners of the nation. The life of the people, not its ideals, becomes the supreme purpose. We need to concern ourselves only with the cause; the effect, it may be assumed, will take care of itself. Thus, we move from the realm of ideals to that of sociology. Since the ideal is the natural product of the life of the people, the vitality and purity of the nation are elevated to the highest moral rank. The national message or ideal seldom checks the excess of chauvinism, for its nature is shrouded in the mythical vagaries of intuition and its time is in the future. But the self-righteousness and the self-exaltation of the prophetic posture remains. The life of the nation itself is magnified and sanctified, instead of the Name of the Lord. The nation itself is glorified, not made to serve an ideal or the Glory of God. So subtle is the distinction between the prophetic and romantic concepts that it frequently escapes detection. And, in certain circumstances, they coalesce for, on occasion, what makes the life of a people possible must take precedence over what the life of that people makes possible. Indeed, the paradox is inherent in the very nature of prophecy. Since the prophet speaks for God, how can he, save by his uniquely keen conscience, avoid



self-exaltation and self-sanctification? Must not his powers of self-criticism be fully as great as his intuitive vision? Objectively, the only acid test of authentic prophecy is the relation of a person to other individuals and of a nation to other human groups, the capacity to rise above the narrowness and blindness of sheer nationalism. The true prophet demands more from his own than from other nations, loving his people passionately but with open eyes and a generous spirit. The inner life of a prophet therefore balances on a hairline drawn taut between heaven and hell. Thus, the Baal Shem Tov was uncertain to the end of his life whether he would land in highest heaven or in deepest hell.

Romantic nationalism appears to be a modern recasting of the Biblical concept of prophet-people but, in actuality, it is a radical inversion of the heavenly ideal. Ends and means are subtly reversed, and the pretentious stance of the prophet takes the place of the substance of his message.

How penetrating was the insight of the cabalists when they maintained that the archetypal hierarchy set up by Satan parallels in every respect the one set up by God, except that the arrangement is reversed!

Whether it is Mickiewicz writing for the Poles, or Mazzini for the Italians or Fichte for the Germans or Dostoyevsky for the Russians, the emphasis is uniformly on the life of the people, on the assumption that its concrete prosperity will redound in a general way to the benefit of humanity in the abstract. The concept of a prophetic mission is employed not as the standard and measuring rod of the acts of the nation, but as a fig leaf hiding the nakedness of sheer national aggrandizement. And so clever is the camouflage on occasion that only the keenest analysis can separate prophetism from its Satanic counterpart.

At one and the same time, the romantic and prophetic conceptions of peoplehood burst upon the horizon of Russian Jewry. And the tension between these conceptions is the major theme of Hebrew literature from the time of Aḥad Ha'am and down to the present day.

## VI

Aḥad Ha'am was looked upon by contemporaries and disciples as a veritable prophet, announcing a fresh revelation. Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik articulated the feelings of all Hebraic intellectuals, when he wrote:



ותלויים באמצע בין שני המגנטים הללו  
 כל רגשות לבנו הסתומים אז נביא שאלו  
 נביא אמת, שיגע בצנור לבנו ויבא  
 וידליק מלמעלה, מעל לראשנו כוכבו.  
 ורוחו יהי המבוע לכל ההרהורים  
 הכבושים בהרבה לבבות כחלומות לא ברורים  
 ובעוד מבטנו בתוך הערפל תקוע  
 ובעוד אנו תועים, נואשים וקטני אמה  
 מתמהמהים על פרשת דרכים ושואלים; אנה? —  
 וינצנץ כוכבך, מורנו, וברמו צנוע  
 קראנו מתוך הערפל וימשך אותנו —  
 ואל תחת כוכבך היחיד נזקקנו כלנו.

And suspended midway between these twain magnetic poles  
 The vague inchoate feelings of our heart then yearned for a prophet,  
 A true prophet who would touch the channels of our heart,  
 And kindle on high, above our heads his star,  
 His spirit becoming the fountain for ruminations  
 In many hearts hidden as dreams, vague aspirations.  
 While still toward the clouds our looks were fixed,  
 While still we wandered, desperate, disbelieving,  
 Loitering at crossroads, inquiring, "whither?"  
 Behold, your star appeared and modestly beckoned,  
 Calling and leading us out of the darkness,  
 And under your single star all of us were gathered.

Several writers maintain that Aḥad Ha'am regarded himself as the modern incarnation of a Biblical prophet, standing at the crossroads and pointing the way leading to salvation (*Aḥad Ha'am*, by Simon and Heller, p. 97). While this assumption is unwarranted, we cannot doubt that Aḥad Ha'am regarded the prophet as the ideal exponent of the spirit of the nation. He founded the secret society of "Sons of Moses," as an instrument for the revival of the prophetic ideal of Jewish life and, in his essays, he wrote of the prophet as the one who, in his search for absolute truth and justice, gives expression to the underlying spirit of the people (*Navi Vekohen*). In keeping with the prophetic and Ḥasidic tradition, Aḥad Ha'am stressed the "inner Torah" (תורה שבלב) in contrast to the visible Torah of precepts and commands, and insisted that spiritual redemption preceded, as an indispensable condition, the redemption of the people. Like Isaiah, too, Aḥad Ha'am argued for a return, not of all the people, but of the chastened remnant. Like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, he looked forward to the birth of a "new spirit" and a "new heart" in the land of Israel,

which will generate new ideals and life-giving forces throughout the Jewish Diaspora and among all men.

In striking contrast to the nationalists of his day, he recognized the marks of the prophetic spirit in the passionate devotion of the Talmudists and Medieval scholars to every detail of the Law. While he disapproved of the pedestrian piety of the Shulhan Aruch, he saw in its very extremism proof of the continued vitality of the prophetic spirit. For the prophet is an ethical absolutist, unyielding and uncompromising.

But, the prophetic tone and message constituted only one side of the complex thought of this philosopher of Hebraic renaissance.

Actually, the philosophy of Aḥad Ha'am was a synthetic union of Hebraic prophetism and nationalistic romanticism. Like all the romantics, he maintained that the nation as a biological organism, (not the Torah) is the "tree of life" producing the ideals and ideas of its own peculiar kind, and giving good and ripe fruits only when the conditions of soil and climate are ideal. He even spoke of a "nationalistic pantheism," as if all things produced by the nation were holy (*Tehiyah* and *Beri'ah*). His central emphasis on the building of a homeland, which would function as a "spiritual center" of world Jewry, is essentially romantic, i. e. — it operates with the image of Israel as a biological organism. Only in its own native soil can the tree of Israel strike roots, and only when the tree is healthy and secure will its fruits be ripe and life-giving. It is important to note that Aḥad Ha'am did not believe that any ideal presently conceivable could endow Jewish life in the Diaspora with the golden radiance of a supreme purpose. He criticized caustically the "mission-theory" of Reform, on the ground that the ideas of monotheism were in modern times the possession of mankind. But he advocated a "mission-theory" of his own, founded on the romantic principle of the essential unity of blood, soil and spirit. Out of the reconstituted homeland, a new ideal will emerge that will correspond to the instinctive character of the Jew, awaken the loyalties of the scattered people, who no longer believe in the Jewish faith, and also bring fresh vision to mankind. While the liberal rabbis of the West thought of the Jewish mission in terms of religious teachings presently understandable and available in classic formulations, Aḥad Ha'am thought of the "mission" as the emergence of a doctrine, presently inconceivable. And this fresh dawning of a new light will be made possible through the efforts of national rebirth. While the nature of the new ideal cannot now be foretold, we may safely assume that it will constitute a fresh embodiment of ethical absolutism, devoid of the mystical fetters of

religion. For religion was to him, in his positivistic moods, both futile and outworn, the discarded "garments of exile." The "national spirit" needs fresh garments, and these will be found only in the national homeland. "For only where the national ideal was first created can we look for it again." In exile, "a living national idea, a great national ideal, cannot be created" (Introduction to second edition of first volume, *Al Parashath Derachim. Golah Venechar*, by Y. Kaufmann, IV volume, p. 370).

If Aḥad Ha'am had been only a romantic nationalist, he could not have awakened the quasi-religious fervor of the Zionist movement. To the pious sentiments of nationalism, he added the modernized conception of a prophet-people, blending the two so skillfully that they could hardly be told apart. Adopting the Reform-Conservative conception of "ethical monotheism" as the heritage of the prophets and the living kernel of the Jewish faith, Aḥad Ha'am carried the process of discrimination one step further, asserting that religious faith in its totality was the shell, of which the living kernel was the "national ethics." Loyalty to this ethical ideal is the first duty of a national Jew.

As to the nature of this ethical ideal, Aḥad Ha'am attempted to define it more than once. It was the spirit of absolute justice, perfectly abstract and unemotional, concerned with the welfare of the group as a whole, not with the happiness of the individual, and disposing society so as to produce from time to time "saints" that, like the Nietzschean "supermen," stand beyond "good and evil," beyond the ordinary rules of ordinary people.

Though he reiterated this formulation time and again, he remained dissatisfied. For well he knew first, that there was nothing Jewishly distinctive about any aspect of this formulation, and second, that other scholars had formulated Jewish ethics in exactly opposite terms.<sup>8</sup>

At this point, Aḥad Ha'am again had recourse to instinct. Jews know by instinct that their ethics is different. Scholars may define this difference in various ways, as they choose, but they are obliged to maintain that a deep and impassable gulf yawns between the ethical insights of Jews and gentiles. This obligation to believe in Jewish difference is a kind of "national imperative," a patriotic form of thinking. Thus, the romantic nationalist dogma of being somehow and essentially different was substituted for the dogmas of religion (*Aḥad Ha'am* by Aryeh Simon and Yoseph Elijah Heller, p. 189).

The prophetic side of Aḥad Ha'am was manifested in his being

<sup>8</sup> Thus, S. D. Luzzatto regards the quality of pity as the essentially Jewish contribution to ethics, while Kant is the great expounder of ethics as absolute justice.

the first leading Zionist to recognize that Arabs too live in Israel, and that the early colonists were occasionally unjust in dealing with them (*ibid.*, p. 15). Along prophetic lines too, was his insistence on the need to choose for colonization in Palestine men and women of the highest idealism and moral integrity. This principle, only partially implemented, was doubtless instrumental in setting a high moral tone for the early pioneering colonies. A. D. Gordon's "religion of labor," expressing the mystical and devotional spirit of the self-sacrificing *Ḥalutzim* may be considered as a continuation of the prophetic phase of Aḥad Ha'am's philosophy. Productive labor takes the place of "mortification of the flesh" in mystical piety and the surrender of personal ambitions the place of the Biblical "we shall do and we shall listen." However, it was in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem that Aḥad Ha'am's moral heritage was most zealously guarded. And the greatest proponent of his prophetic ideal of "absolute justice" was a stranger from the West, a rabbi and a rebel, a man of peace who was always at war with the people he loved most, for he could see the ideal towering above them — Judah Leib Magnes.

In the progressive descent of the Zionist ideal from heaven to earth, it was Rabbi Magnes who for a full generation protested against the subversion of moral principles to the pressures of political expediency. While, in any study of modern Hebrew literature, the name of Magnes is not likely to be mentioned, his voice and personality cannot be ignored in any analysis of the struggles within the soul of the modern Jew. Amidst unparalleled desperation and against a rising tide of violence, he stood for the right, boldly and immoveably clinging to the prophetic banner at all costs. Round him, the remnants of a prophetic conscience in Israel were gathered, building up a claim on eternity for the Jew, more enduring than any army or any government. While patriots around him glibly employed the prophetic posture as a cover for the resurgence of "sacred, collective egoism," he cherished the soul of prophecy and nurtured it with his life's blood, even when like Jeremiah he was assailed as a traitor. (For Magnes' leadership and prophetic character, see Norman Bentwich's *For Zion's Sake*, chaps. 12, 13.)

## VII

The brilliant essays of Aḥad Ha'am dominated the intellectual horizon of his generation. But, the prophetic hero-image which he recreated and imposed upon the substructure of romantic nationalism was not captured in its fulness by any one of the writers in modern

Hebrew literature. Once again, the dazzling vision illuminating the skies for a brief moment came crashing down to earth in fragments. The cabalists peered deeply into the tragic mystery of human nature when, in describing the process whereby a heavenly ideal is clothed in the flesh and blood of reality, they spoke of the "breaking of the vessels." For, as in the mid-eighteenth century, the prophetic vision was fragmentized in the post-Aḥad Ha'amist era, with only broken facets of it being found here and there.

Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik believed himself to be a faithful disciple of Aḥad Ha'am. His wondrous poems of national resurgence betray the posture, tone, and pathos of a prophet. His earnestness was so overpowering that the Hebrew reading public did not resent his wrathful rebuke of the Jewish people for their defenselessness and passivity during the pogrom in Kishineff. His readers felt that the national poet spoke for the newly born sense of dignity in their own hearts. Seldom, in history, did a poet exert as much influence as Bialik did in the first decade of the twentieth century. (See Sh. Niger's introduction to the collection of Bialik's Yiddish poems.)

Several of his poems were written in conscious emulation of the style and stance of a prophet (his Hebrew poems, *Davar, Achen Gam Zeh Musar Elohim, Hozeh Lech Brah*; his Yiddish poems in *Lieder*, pp. 18, 19, 20). In his *Songs of Wrath*, he protests against God, in terms verging on the blasphemous, but in the spirit of one who finds it impossible to assume His indifference to human woe. Like Jeremiah, he pleads, "Righteous Thou art, O Lord, but judgment I shall speak with you" (Jer. 12.1), though unlike the ancient prophet, he fails to state his basic premise. As the poet of national continuity and rebirth, he both glorifies and lays to rest the ideal of the *Mathmid*, the hero-image of a bygone generation. For the guidance of his contemporaries, he recreates and transfigures the legend of the "Dead of the Desert," the heroes who dared defy Moses and God. Though they failed and perished, a magical aura of heroism pervades their camp and evokes the tribute of awed reverence from the wanderers of the wilderness. This glorification of the impatient rebels against the authority of Moses was intended to inspire a similar rebelliousness in his own day against the spirit of pious resignation to the Will of God. The message of the poem is a call for the substitution of aggressive force for quiescent piety. Thus, the dead, momentarily revived in a storm, shout

We who are heroes,  
Last of the enslaved and first of  
the redeemed are we!

אנחנו גבורים!  
דור אחרון לשעבוד וראשון לנאולה  
אנחנו!



Our hand alone, our mighty  
hand,

ידנו לבדה, ידנו החזקה

From our proud neck the heavy  
yoke hath removed.

את כבד העול מעל גאון צוארנו פרקה

But, the spirit of rebelliousness is tempered by the feeling of belonging inescapably in the entourage of the Shechinah. The poet sees the Divine cause as being nearly defeated and deserted, but he remains with God even if only to bemoan the tragedy and to lament over the desolation of His Kingdom (*Al Saf Beth Hamidrash Hayashan* and *Levadi*). The cause of God may suffer temporary setbacks. The Almighty, as it were, may be "wounded," but He cannot be defeated (*Yadati Beleil Arafel* and *Lo Timah Bimherah Dime'athi*).

Within the soul of Bialik the earthly spirit of romantic nationalism vied for supremacy against a genuine spark of prophetism. This titanic struggle within him, he represented symbolically in the beautiful prose-poem, *Megillath Ha'esh*. The young refugee from Jerusalem is torn between two fiery forces, the one deriving from the last flicker of holy fire on the altar of the Temple, the other issuing out of the subterranean black flames of hell. With this titanic turmoil in his restless soul, the young hero wanders disconsolately, unable to achieve inner harmony and peace.

Bialik failed to represent the prophetic vision in its fulness, chiefly because he did not rise above the immediate, national needs of his people and did not glimpse the human and the universal vistas of existence. In his poem, *Be'ir Haharegah*, he does not attempt to look beyond the horrors of the pogroms to the people that perpetrated them. To him, the rioters were simply inhuman beasts. He fails to take note of the tragic conflict of ideas, the whirl of interests, malice and misunderstanding that led to the slaughter. In the "Dead of the Desert," he ascribes the defeat of the defiant rebels to God, not to the Canaanites, defending their homes, while the exodus from Egypt he attributes to the "strong hand" of the Israelites, thereby reversing the order of explanations in the Torah. For him, the Canaanites (read: Arabs) did not exist. Though he sensed the prophetic hunger for inner purity in the sight of God (see especially his poem, *Halfah 'al Panai*), he lacked the prophetic passion for universal ideals and the moral strength to behold mankind as a whole.

In Saul Tchernichovski, we encounter Bialik's rebelliousness without the latter's firm faith in and reverence for tradition. Like that lonely rebel of the Mishnah, Elisha, son of Abuya, Tchernichovski knows the Jewish hero-image and rebels against it. In behalf of his people, the poet apologizes to the Greek god, Apollo (*Lenochah*



*Pessel Apollo*), for the sin of rejecting "the light of life" and the crime of binding with thongs of *Tefillin* the primitive impulses of the flesh. In contrast to the enfeebling piety of the true prophets, he extols the unabashed love of life of the so-called "false prophets." Above the (*Mehezyonoth Nevi Hasheker*) crown of Torah and heroism, he sets the crown of beauty (*Sheloshah Ketharim*). In his version of Dinah's parting words, he reverses the scale of values in the Blessing of Jacob (*Parashath Dinah*), praising natural vengefulness and raw courage rather than quietude, ethical principle, and moral restraint.

In the massive writings of M. J. Berdichevski, the spirit of rebellion against the prophetic hero-image is given poignant and moving expression. Yet, in his passionate avowal of the supreme worth of the individual, we can hear a distinct echo of the prophetic voice. Since Aḥad Ha'am attributed to prophetism an exclusive concern with the community, Berdichevski believed his own emphasis on individuality to be a revolt against the tradition of Hebrew prophecy. Actually, the reverse was true. The Hebrew prophets rejected the totalitarian tendency of paganism, insisting on the responsibility of the individual, the supremacy of the ethical imperative, the sole rightness of the "still, small voice" of conscience, the substitution of the holy remnant for the holy people and the duty to oppose the national interest in the Name of God. Deeply steeped in the mystic lore of Ḥasidism, Berdichevski centered attention on the direct bond between man and God. By arguing for the fulness of the life of the individual, he, for all his avowed rebelliousness, articulated a genuine prophetic demand. In all his writings, one senses the horror and mystery of "the hound of heaven" theme. He rebels against "monotheism," against Judaism, against "spirit," against "the book"; but, even when he strikes the pose of a "blonde beast," he remains inescapably a man of the book and a son of the prophets. His heroes find themselves held fast by the chains of Israel's peculiar, prophetic destiny, even when they set out boldly to act the part of Nietzschean "supermen."

Another broken fragment of the prophetic soul, we find incarnated in the writings of J. H. Brenner, who combined supreme emphasis on the free individual with the ideals of socialism. In addition to its inherent apocalyptic elements, socialism hit Jewish youth with the impact of a pseudo-messianic movement, promising the glory of regeneration through identification with the proletariat. All that is ugly and unworthy in Jewish life will be magically transmuted, all problems will be solved, all yearnings will be stilled. For the "national theology" of Brenner and his fellow-ideologists of the Histadruth,

socialism spelled inner and outer redemption. "The new Hebrew individual of our generation enters with but one simple word on his lips — 'labor' " (*Bahayim Uvasafruth*, Vol. VI, p. 325). The magic of labor will cleanse the Jewish soul of its "sin" and of its "shame," incurred through centuries of a capitalistic life in "exile" (*Golah Venechar*, vol IV, p. 408).

Labor assumed a quasi-messianic guise in the life and literature of the new Israel, and the *Halutz*, with open blouse and khaki pants, spade in hand and song at heart, was its forerunner. The intellectual who, surrendering individual ambitions and the modern cult of success, bows his back to the unyielding soil and sacrifices the joys of privacy to the rigors of communal discipline is the hero of the "religion of labor." Originally, Tolstoyan in inspiration, the new "man with the hoe" became the bearer of the promise of national rebirth and fulfilment. His renunciation of bourgeois comforts offered a psychological equivalent to the saints' fasting and ascetic exercises, the prophet's escape into the wilderness, the artist's retreat to the garret and the knight's donning of his heavy armor. "This love of Zion movement is to embrace all the parts of the nation that are capable of repenting of the sins of exile and to accept the penance of labor" (Quoted from Brenner in Fichman's *Lashon Vasefer*, vol. V. p. 69).

Still another tattered shred of the prophetic soul is incarnated in the muscular verse of Uri Zevi Greenberg, the favorite poet of the Revisionists. Greenberg mourns over the fate of Hitler's victims, calling for bloody vengeance. He evokes the saintly figure of Levi Yitzhak which, brooding over the devastation wrought by the Nazis, gives up prayer and demands revenge. For him, "the nations," all mankind with hardly a significant distinction, is embraced in one category. And Israel, the "holy people" is the perpetual victim of "the nations" (*Rehovoth Hanahar*, pp. 169; 291). In the ardor of longing for national dignity and power, Greenberg attains lyrical climaxes of purest chauvinism,

אין טהורים לשלטון מהיהודים, אין יפים מהם בעולם!  
 אין אצילים, עמוקים, גנונים, ואין גבורים וגנהים מהם בגוים!  
 אין ראויים מהם לשאת על קדקד כתר מלכות בעולם.  
 (*Rehovot HaNahar*, p. 165)

None are purer for dominion than Jews, none more beautiful  
 None nobler or deeper among the nations, more heroic, melo-  
 dious or brighter,  
 Not one in the world more worthy of carrying a kingly crown.

The saintly figure of the Berdichever Rebbe, Levi Yitzhak, is utilized by another great poet, Jacob Cohen, for the purpose of symbolizing the rejection of the prophetic mission for the Jewish people. The poet makes use of the legend concerning the ten martyrs, who learned that their death was decreed by God Himself. If they cry out against this decree, the Lord will return the world to chaos. The ten martyrs accept God's Will and do not protest. They know that up in heaven the Archangel Michael offers the souls of saints in sacrifice in order that the Divine Purpose may be fulfilled. The poet knows that the prophets have taught the Jews to look upon themselves as the suffering servants of the Lord, the "martyr race," who bear upon their pain-racked backs the sins of mankind. But, he also knows that, in his generation, the ten martyrs have grown into a vast mass of nearly six million hapless victims of the Satanic rebellion against the Divine Kingdom. Levi Yitzhak, the loving advocate of Israel, is prepared to utter that "third cry" which might turn the world into chaos. For even chaos is preferable to so colossal a crime (*Modern Hebrew Literature* by S. Halkin p. 135).

In Greenberg's verses, rebellion against the prophetic spirit attains its acme. The garments of the prophet-people are still worn by Israel, but only as drapery and disguise for the newly raised national flag.

The anti-prophetic outbursts of Greenberg can hardly be matched in recent Hebraic literature. However, he is by no means alone in his endeavor to substitute resurgent nationalism for the ancient faith. Significant is this final verse in the popular poem by the recently deceased David Shimoni:

And in this dreadful darkness, in this darkest of all nights,  
Let our exultant song go up out of the night:  
"Hear, O Israel: Israel is our fate, Israel is One."

In the last line, the most fundamental assertion of Jewish faith by prophets and martyrs of all ages and climes is transformed into a slogan of national unity. Israel takes the place of God in the Scriptural declaration of faith (Deut. 6.4).

A glowing spark of the prophetic flame shines out of the mystical writings of Chief Rabbi Kuk. While the fulness of prophetic stature cannot be ascribed to this gentle saint, since he lacked a clear comprehension of reality, a genuine vision of mankind and a deep appreciation of its universal values, we can see in him the man who lives in "two-aloneness" with God. The prophets were more than mystics; for, disdaining to speak of their intimate feelings, they concentrated on bringing the Divine message to mankind. The Jewish literary

tradition, following the example of the prophets, discouraged any descriptions of the ineffable ecstasies of mystical delight and terror. In Kuk's writings, this literary genre makes its appearance. (For examples, see *Banner of Jerusalem*, Bloch, 1946.) A charming note of freshness pervades his poetry in prose, reflecting a remarkable synthesis of Hasidic mysticism and Western romanticism. Perhaps, the central message of his books is best conveyed by the motto which he coined, "the old shall be renewed, the new shall be sanctified."

Motifs of religious mysticism occur frequently in the Hebraic poetry of our generation, reflecting the unspoken yearning of the Jewish soul for the reconstruction of its prophetic hero-image. The union of people and land inevitably makes the storied characters of the Hebrew Bible take on the vividness of flesh and blood. The great theme of our Holy Scriptures, the eternal dialogue between man and God, becomes inescapably the fundamental theme of Hebrew literature. Though we have now scarcely passed beyond the threshold of the new Israel, we can already discern beautiful expressions of longing for the wholeness of the Jewish soul through its service of God.

Abraham Shlonsky expresses the inchoate, vague piety of a whole generation in this hymn to labor in the new land:

Clothe me, purest of mothers, in the resplendent coat of many colors.

And lead me to toil at dawn.

My land wraps itself in light as in the prayer-shawl.

New homes stand forth as do phylacteries.

And like phylactery-bands, the highways, built by Jewish hands, glide.

Thus, a town beautiful recites the morning prayer to its Creator.

(From *Modern Hebrew Literature*, p. 205 by S. Halkin.)

Except among the Orthodox writers, who are separated from the rest of the population by a forbidding barrier of dogma, the sense of dedication to high ideals is still restrained by the rebelliousness of the preceding generation. The literary world of Israel has not yet experienced the stirring phenomenon of the return of the "third generation" to the spiritual wellsprings which were repudiated by the second generation of immigrants. The contrast between two poetic treatments of the same theme is instructive. Richard Beer-Hofmann, living in Vienna, celebrated the wondrous destiny of the Jewish people in the hauntingly beautiful, dramatic poem, *Jaakob's Traum*. Jacob is warned by Satan that his children will be "chosen" for untold agonies

and be marked for lonely wretchedness, if they should accept the proffered Divine mission to be "a prophet unto the nations." Yet Jacob in full realization of the immensity of the price and the multitude of yawning pitfalls, accepts the Divine command, even as every poet and every great man accepts the obligations implied in the insights granted to him. Yitzhak Lamdan, expressing the spirit of a sadder generation, makes Jacob protest against the imposition of a yoke which deadened his senses to the joy of life and made him an orphan among the nations:

But now heavy are the heavens of a sudden;	ועתה כבדו שמים עלי ראשי פתאם
The soil burns my soles, till they hurt;	האדמה תלהט רגלי, תכון עדי כאב,
Like a serpent biting heels, every path in it and trail.	כל נתיב בה ומשעל — כנחש ישך עקב
Uplifted with bigness I awoke and bowed down by fear and orphanhood.	הקיצותי וקוף גדולות וכפוף יראה ויתם.

In Lamdan's version, Jacob is quite willing to accept a revelation of God in nature, but not a special human task that will set him apart and single him out.

Let me be! I will not be dragged perforce any more  
To the gallows of thy love, O Lover and Seducer!  
As one, the only chosen one, I am called to thee,  
And by the time I come — I am misshapen — crippled;  
"Jacob, Jacob!" No I will not come and listen,  
And be once more scorned of man, yet beloved of God.

If you have some matter to impart to me, a great and  
precious matter of love —  
Stretch it at my feet as a verdant carpet of spring;  
Light it up over my head as a blazing morning-rose.  
Let its music sing in a myriad voices that all, that all, may  
hear:  
Bejewel it with thy stars at night; thy sun by day,  
And let the butterflies of all the world frolic with it.

(S. Halkin, *Modern Hebrew Literature*)

But even when the prophetic mission is repudiated, its haunting spell remains pervasive and powerful. The peculiar tragedies of Jewish history hammer home the realization that, bereft of the prophetic garb, we stand before the world naked and shamed. Caught



in the serpentine coils of romantic nationalism, the prophetic vision may be perverted, but not utterly dissipated.

The dramatic poet, Matithyahu Shoham, recreates the image of the prophet Elijah. Addressing the dying King Ahab, who was sincerely devoted to the military greatness of the Northern Kingdom, Elijah says, "Forgive me, my king, but the Lord has led me far beyond the boundaries of your Kingdom." Contrasting Ahab's vision of national power with the prophetic vision of Israel's true greatness, the poet asserts:

נתבענו לנצחון	We are called to triumph, as a nation
מאדם ואלהים, לפדות נשבענו;	within man and before God, sworn to salvation.
וארור כל מתחמק, כל הכופר	And cursed be all who sneak away, all who deny
בטהר ראשית ובגאולת אחרית.	Pristine purity and ultimate redemption.
מי נבהל לב בנביאי עמים ישא	Let the panicky prophets of other nations
חזון המנוסה — לנו	preach their counsels of escape— for us
דבר הגאון	the word of greatness,
לדורות אדם על ארמות.	for the generations of man on earth.

(*Zor and Yerusholaim* by M. Shoham)

# VIII

Our survey of the prophetic image in modern Hebrew literature ends on a mixed note, trembling uncertainly between the haunting spell of the ancient vision and its rejection in whole or in part. The debris of the mighty Biblical figure lie littered in all directions, but its organic unity is lost. And the voices of anti-prophetism are as loud in the land as the scattered echoes of prophecy.

Since literature is the mirror of life, we can hardly expect any other result. For, the world-wide mass movement of Zionism, which revived Hebraic literature and created the state of Israel, was compounded of two spiritually contending forces—the one quasi-prophetic in nature, the other, opposing and contradicting it. Also, the mentality of those Jews who aimed to root themselves heart and

soul in the lands of the Diaspora was similarly compounded of the same opposing forces.

Within Zionism, the heritage of *Aḥad Ha'am* was opposed by the "realists" who thought of the goal of the movement as the attainment by Jews of "normalcy," so as to become "like unto the other nations." A stateless people takes on the aspect of a ghost, evoking fear and hatred from the naïve masses. To become "normal" once again, the Jews should learn to fight for the things of this world and give up all pretensions to the mission of prophecy which made of them a "peculiar people." The one cure of all afflictions consisted in the dissociation, clean and complete, between people and prophecy, between the nation and its faith. In the land of Israel, the people would attain earthly salvation by ceasing to strive for heavenly bliss and by arising to confront the world as just another secular nation. The world refused to honor the people with the Book; they will be forced to respect the people with the sword. This anti-prophetic mood was obscured at times by the ambiguous verbiage of romantic nationalism, which tended to employ the prophetic posture and occasionally to use its central symbols though with opposite intent. Self-glorification and self-sanctification, to the point where the nation takes the place of God is altogether in keeping with the "sacred egoism" of modern nationalism. And, of the subtle seduction of this malady of the spirit, both life and literature offer ample substantiation.

In Diaspora Judaism, too, we recognize a similar tension between prophetism and rebellion against the Divine mission. On the one hand, the ideologists of classical Reform and Conservatism recreated the image of the prophet as the protagonist of "ethical monotheism," proclaiming its "eternal verities" unto mankind. On the other hand, Zionist critics were not altogether off the mark in pointing to the assimilationist trends within modern Judaism. For, it cannot be denied that this domain shades off gradually into the no man's land of indifferentism and ultimate disappearance. A liberal faith does not delimit itself by rigid boundaries and does not impose sanctions upon its marginal adherents. Hence, the outside boundaries of its following are not defined. Conversionist assimilation blends insensibly into its opposite, prophetic Judaism, and the two forces are interlocked in an embrace which is also an unending struggle. In the Diaspora, it is not the group as a whole, but many an individual who seeks the Nirvana of "normalcy" by dissociating himself from the faith and destiny of the Jewish people. These seekers of oblivion employ the symbols and banners of prophetic religion, though their purpose is to reduce Jewish loyalty to the minimum. And the tensions of Diaspora

Judaism are, of course, sensed and interpreted by the Hebrew writers in Israel.

If we hazard a guess concerning the future, it is this very contact between Hebrew literature and Jewish life in the Diaspora that leads us to foresee the possibility of a revival of the prophetic image in Israel. Twice in the period of two centuries, the vision of prophecy was recreated through the stimulating influence of an outside cultural force. Humanism in Italy helped to produce the peculiar genius of Luzzatto, and Nineteenth Century rationalism brought into being the philosophy of modern Judaism. May it not be that the same event will be repeated once again, the re-emergence of prophetism in the Diaspora being followed by a corresponding resurgence of the prophetic image in the literature of modern Israel?

Two factors appear to make for such a revival. First, to recapture the synoptic vision of prophecy is indispensable for the very life of the Jewish community. Without the dynamism of a supreme purpose, that is universal in scope and transcendent in quality, the Jewish community cannot long continue to thrive. Second, the overwhelming majority of Diaspora Jewry reside in America, where the spell of romantic nationalism, that Satanic counterpart of prophetism, is bound to become progressively weaker. America is the classic land of liberal statism as Germany was the classic land of romantic nationalism. Furthermore, American culture is more hospitably disposed toward the Hebraic prophetic image than toward the competing images of saint or mystic, artist or philosopher. In this land, there is no conflict between Judaism conceived in prophetic terms and Americanism interpreted in the light of its prophetic tradition. Hence, the prophetic miracle is, to say the least, a possibility in this country — the miracle of being so authentically true to one's own being as to reflect at the same time the soul of mankind.<sup>9</sup>

If American Judaism rises to the magnificent challenge of its time and circumstance, modern Hebrew literature will be sensitized to discriminate between the stance of prophecy and its substance, between the allurements of romanticism and the call of God.

In the world-wide struggle of the Jewish soul to recapture its heroic vision, the decisive engagement is being fought here and now.

<sup>9</sup> However, the prophetic spirit is here held down chiefly by the dead weight of "crowd psychology," that crushes all idealistic efforts. When the several hero-images fail to inspire and to evoke emulation, the fickle mob with its tinsel idols achieves predominance, so that popularity takes the place of moral authority, conformity the place of rightness, the statistical Mr. Average the place of the ideal hero.

It will not do for us to imagine that the prophetic fire is rekindled in us automatically the moment we recount the achievements of the prophets of old. Salvation is not "over there," in the past, all packaged and ready. We are not the proud custodians of "eternal verities" unavailable to others, but only the humble seekers of a Divine mystery that is never fully grasped. The genius of prophecy may be described, the mantle of prophecy may be institutionalized, but the spirit of prophecy cannot be manufactured at will. In keeping with the cabalistic ideal of gathering the scattered sparks of divinity, we should aim at that synoptic vision that is always being built but that is never completed. We cannot claim to be among those who know all about God, but we can proclaim the supreme virtue of the unending quest. Let our motto be, "Those who seek the Lord shall not lack ought that is good" (Ps. 34.10).

Nor will it do for us to await complacently the rebirth of a new prophetic vision in the land of Israel on the romantic assumption that prophecy is like the fruit of a tree, ripening best in its own native climate. Salvation again is not "over there," in the storied rocks and freshly poured cement of Israel. Always and everywhere, salvation comes from within, consisting in the sparks that fly when the hammer of God beats upon the anvil of the soul.

## מכתב כ"א

Brody 8ten Juli '890<sup>1</sup>

שלום וברכה!

נתת שמחה בלבי בספרך היקר כתוב יום 19 פ"מ, אשר באני במועדו, ונתונה לך תורתו בזה מקרב ולב. ואף אם ידעתי גם ידעתי כי אהבתך אלי קלקלה לך את השורה והפרזת בשבחים על המדה הראויה לי.

יפה עשית בלכתך לבקר את פני מיודעך ומכירך, כי זה יוסיף תת כח לעבוד עבודת הקדש באמונה. אנכי זקנתי ושבתי והנני יושב בעירי ובביתי ואעבוד עבודתי, ורק איזה שעות ביום הנני הולך לשוח.

במדומי שכבר כתבתי לך כי הענינים המיועדים לבוא בחוברת הי"ד מהחלוץ, מסודרים כמעט ועומדים להוציאם לאור, אבל ה' גרעץ עמד להפריעני, כי בא בבקשה לפני להטות את שכמי לעבוד עבודה רבה על אדות הירוש' והבבלי לאמר, כי אין אחר בלעדי שיהיה מסוגל לעבודה רבה כזו, ולא יכלתי להשיב את פניו ריקם, ואף כי אין עלי המלאכה לנמור, אינני בן חורין להפטר ממנה, ונענתי לו במקצת והנני טרוד כעת לקיים הבטחתי שהבטחתי, ואם לא יתרבה המאמר יותר מדי, אפנה לו מקום בחוברת י"ד. –

נפלאתי בשמעי ממך כי לא עלה ביד חברת: דורשי ספרות העברית, להוציא לאור מכתב העת "קרן אור"<sup>2</sup> הלא רבים יהודי רוסיה הבאים להשתקע שם. ובתוכם אוהבי שפת עבר? – "הוראת בעל דין" יש אתי גרפס בר"פ.<sup>3</sup> להפיץ הקונטרס במדינתך וועדך געוויס<sup>4</sup> דבר בעתו, וחשבתי לזכות לך להתעסק בפרסומו. –

ערשיינט נאך די מנורה? – פרופיסור דערנבורג בפר"ז כתב לי כי יש את לבבו להוציא לאור בשנת 892, ספרי רס"ג.<sup>5</sup> במלאת אלף שנים ליום היותו חי לפעול פעולות גדולות. פרופיסור דערנבורג הוא בן שמונים ועוד אונד מאכט פלענע פיר דיא צוקונפט.<sup>7</sup> מצורף לזה איזט דער מאן בלינד<sup>8</sup> ואין לאל ידו לקרוא בספרים, והוא מוכרח לסמוך על אחרים בכל! – וואהרשיינליך האבען אויך זיא איינען פראשפעקט ערהאלטען. –<sup>9</sup> מחיר החלוץ באני תמול דרך באזעל. – דאס ערוך השלם פארטגעזעצט ווירד בוויא ברפוס פאנטע,<sup>10</sup> ידעתי, אבל גם זאת ידעתי כי חזקה לקאהוט שאינו מוציא מת"י<sup>11</sup> דבר מתוקן. אנכי לא ראיתי עדין החוברות שיצאו כבר לעולמים. וגם בבוא לידי החלק הראשון לא שמתי עין עליו, כי דאנתי פן ואולי יצרי יתקפני לטפל בו ובשבשויו, ה' ווייס בבית התלמוד גלה על קצת שבשויו והיו לנו! –

דיה ברכה ושלום כנפשך ונפש מוקירך

י"ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> המכתב של פלונטהל איננו בשולי מכתב כ' ישנה הערה בגרמנית בכתב ידו של פלונטהל שענה לשור ב-11 ליוני.

<sup>2</sup> "קרן אור", בעריכת א. ל. זאלאטקאף. הופיע ממנו רק שתי חוברות א"ב, שיקאגו, 1889. פלונטהל השתתף בשתייהן.

<sup>3</sup> אולי: דפוס פאנטו. אדולף פאנטו בוינה הדפיס את "החלוץ", י"ג. \* ודאי שהיה.

<sup>4</sup> העוד מופיעה ה"מנורה"? <sup>5</sup> רב סעדיה גאון. <sup>7</sup> מתכנן תכניות לעתיד.

<sup>8</sup> מצורף לזה הרי האיש עוור. <sup>9</sup> ויש להניח שגם אתה כבלת פרוספקט אחד.

<sup>10</sup> הערוך השלם ממשיך להופיע בוינה ברפוס פאנטא. <sup>11</sup> מתחת ידו.



שנית ומחירה F1; חוברת ג' עוד מעט ואיננה כי לא נמצא בידי רק מעט מוצר מחירה F3; חוברות ר' ה' ו' כל א' F1.20; 8, 7 כל א' F2.40; 9 אין 2 אבטהילונגען F3.40; י"א כל א' F2.10; י"ג F2.20. והיה אם תתמצה להתעסק בזה הנני לשלוח לך ככל אשר תבקש ממני כי בלעדיך אין לי מודע במדינתך.

ודע כי זה כירח ימים באני מכתב מאמשרדם מן Van Creveld & Co. Bookhan del וזה תוכנו: ביטטען אונז אויף צו געבען די א פארטיע אונד נעטטא פרייזע דאס בייא איהנען ערשיינעדע צייטשריפט החלון יאהרג' 11, 12, 13, ועל זה עניתי: בייא אפנאהמע איינעס עקס' מחיר חוברת י"א F2.10; י"ב F2.10; י"ג F2.20 בייא אפנאהמע מעהרערער עקס' 10% ראבאט, ולא באתני שום תשובה אז עלה על רעיוני כי מכתב זה האמשרדמי בא אלי לבקשת מ"ס א' מאמערקא, וע"כ יחפון לדעת סכום החוברות הנמצאות מן חוברות י"א וי"ג ועומדות לימכר, כי קשה עלי להאמין כי ירבו הקונים באמשט. אולי יש לאל ירך לדעת פשר דבר.

ברבר המשווע מביסטריץ, כהן שדעתו מטורפת, דע כי מיד בצאת השארטעקע לאור נכתב לי מווינא בשם ה. יעללינעק, ווייס, פריערמאן ואחרים רבים וכן שלמים שלא לענות לו, כי איש משווע הוא והדיוט גמור. ומדי קראי הדברים הללו נמלא שחוק פי ואמרת נשתוית, חלילה לי לטפל בנבלה זו, כבר אמרו כל הדין את טפש הוא עצמו נדון. ואתה ידידי אשר התעוררת לתבוע את עלבוני ולהתרנו על הטפש הזה, חן חן לך. וזה לאות ולעד בעיני כי לבך שלם עמדי כמאז כן עתה.

הנני מיחל לתשובתך ואדרוש שלומך וטובתך. ידריך ואיש בריתך

י-ה-ש

חוברת י"ב F2.10

חוברת י"ג F2.20

הנני עוסק כעת לסדר החוברת הי"ד. 10-

<sup>1</sup> המאמר. הודאת בעל דין' הופיע ב.קרן אור, I (1889), 7-9. קרן אור' היה כתביעת עברי שהופיע לזמן קצר בעריכת א. ל. זאלאטקאף בשקאנו. אחרי שתי חוברות פסק מלהופיע.

<sup>2</sup> דרישת שלום.

<sup>3</sup> ר"ת בנרמנית: פערנגענען מונאסס, החדש שעבר.

<sup>4</sup> על ידי.

<sup>5</sup> בבקשה להודיע לנו את מחירו של טופס יחיד, וגם את המחיר בסימונות בעד כתב העת. החלון' המופיע על ירך.

<sup>6</sup> מחיר עקסמפלר יחיד הוא . . . . מחיר מספר עקסמפלרים הוא בהנחה של 10%.

<sup>7</sup> מוכר ספרים.

<sup>8</sup> ועל כן.

<sup>9</sup> מאיר קאהן ביסטריץ: בעור טיש הין, פרעסבורג, תרמ"ט (1888), קונטרס חריף שנכתב נגד

שור. ביסטריץ הוא יליד הונגריה, 1820-1892. ראה: *Encyclopædia Judaica*, IV, 839.

<sup>10</sup> חוברת זו לא יצאה לאור. כתביהיד היה בידי של הירש ויידל, ראה ספרו, צד II. דר. ג. נלבר הודיע לי שבשנת 1912 מצא את החוברת אצל דר. י. ביק, דודנו של שור. דר. נלבר הכין מבוא ביוגרפי לחוברת ומסר את החומר לספרן דר. אלכסנדר קריסטיאנופולר הי"ד שטפל בהוצאתו. ביתניים פלש היטלר לאוסטריה ובימי השואה נספה דר. קריסטיאנופולר וכפי הנראה החוברת אתו.

ימים תצא לאור. ליידערס אין בית דפוס בעירי, אף שיוצא לאור כאן מכתב עתי מדי שבוע בשבוע. אבל הרפוס רע וגרוע בתכלית הגרועות והמו"ל<sup>10</sup> בור ריק אין כל. – היה ברכה ושלוש מעתה ועד העולם כנפשך ונפש ידיך

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> דרישת שלום.

<sup>2</sup> בשולי העתקתו כותב פלונטהל: „המה'ע מנורה אשר יצא לאור בעיר נוא יארק מדי חדש בחדשו בל' [בלשון] אנגלית הביא בשנת 1889 בהחבורת לחדש יאנואר מאמר אחד אשר קראתי Rabbi Patrick. במבוא הוכחתי להראות כי השמות אפטריוקי, פטריקי וכדומיהם הנמצאים בתלמוד ובמדרש אחת המה וכי רק המה השם Patrick או Patricus אשר נמצא כבר אצל הרומיים והיונים בימים ההם לבוש בבגדי אותיות עבריות. ועל מאמרי זה ראו הר' יה'ש במכתבו המובא לעיל.“ המאמר הופיע בכרך VI, 19–29 והודפס שנית על ידי אממה פלונטהל (בתו של הרב) בספרה, *Bernhard Felsenthal Teacher in Israel 176–164*. ובמאמר זה הוא חולק על דברי שור בנוגע לשמות הללו (החלוק' י', 12, 22).

<sup>3</sup> שכרימסך: Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, סופר אוסטרי נוצרי שכתב גם כמה ספורים על היהודים בגליציה. משמו נגזרת המלה מסוכיזם, Masochism. ראה: וילהלם גולדבוים, *Literarische Physiognomien*, 206–216.

<sup>4</sup> וציוריו.

<sup>5</sup> המוציא לאור.

<sup>6</sup> על ידי.

<sup>7</sup> מבוא הירושלמי, קליא ע"ב.

<sup>8</sup> כרנע אני עומד במשא'ובמתן.

<sup>9</sup> לצערי.

<sup>10</sup> יעקב וועבער, עורך ה„עברי“.

## מכתב כ'

Brody 8ten Mai '890

ברכה ושלוש!

לא אכחירה תחת לשוני כי היטב חרה לי בבוא אלי קונטרס הודאת בעל דין: מבלי זכרון שמך ומבלי ד"ש<sup>2</sup>. אז אמרתי: הנסה דבר אליך תלאה? אני חויתי לך דעי מבלי משוא פנים על אדות השם העצמי פטריקי, אשר רצית ושערת כי היינו אפטריוקי, ולא היתה דעתך נוחה, וחדלת מכתוב ואפן גם אנכי ממך, ובהורע לך כי יצאה חוברת י"ג מהחלוק' לאור נזכרת וכתבת אלי דברים של חבה, ואחר ער כה בתשובתי, והנה ארכו לך הימים ובאת אלי שנית עם ספרך היקר כתוב יום 21 פ"מ<sup>3</sup> לאמר למה אמנע ממך את מחברתי, ואחה תאב לראותו, ולא אוכל לסרב עור, כי אין מסרבין . . . והנני שולח לך היום החוברת ע"י<sup>4</sup> הבי דואר.

אמת הרבר כי כבר כתבת לי לשלוח איזו עקס' מחוברתי למס' א' שם ובצפיתך תצפה כי יקפצו עליהן הקונים לקנותם בכסף מלא. ואנכי עניתי לך כי אין לי מכיר ומורע לשלוח לידו. מצורף לזה אין בידי רק 1 עקס' מכל החוברות גם יחד (קאמפלעט) כי חוברת ב' אין להשיג כלל זה כמה שנים, חוברת א' נרפסה

לא ישרה נפשם בם, איש לבצעו מקצוהו, ועינם ולבם רק להנאת עצמם וטובתם, ועתה אשר אדם באלף מצאתי, איש נכון וחכם, אשר לבבו שלם עמדי ועם מעשה ידי, רוחי גם לבבי יעופו מועף ביעף לקראתו לחבקהו ולקרבהו באהבה רבה.

הנני עסוק עוד לסדר החוברת הי"ג מהחלוץ ולא יארכו הימים ואפרסמה ברבים ואנישה מנחה לך ידידי היקר והנכבד!

ושלום וברכה וחיים יוסיפו לך ולביתך מן השמים כנפשך ונפש ידיך מוקירך ומכבדך

י-ה-ש

1 מכתב זה איננו באוסף.

2 "Literary Miscellanies 15, HeHalutz, Vol. XII", III, Menorah, 240-243.

3 ועל כן.

4 בעונותינו הרבים.

## מכתב י"ט

Brody 22ten Jan. '889

שלום וברכה וד"ש!

ברוך אתה וברוך טעמך כי שלחת לי את מלאכך: "פטריק"<sup>2</sup> ויעירני כאיש אשר יעור משנתו ויאמר לי: עורה נא, הקיצה נא, קומה נא וכתב לאהובך ואהובך ברוך שם כבודו, הטנם תדע כי הבת לו בתשלומי תשובה על ספרו אשר ערך אליך זה שנה ויותר, ספר כתוב הדר, ואתה נתעצלת להשיב כפי הנמוס וחטאת לדרך ארץ, קומה איפוא ובקש נא סליחתו, והוא בוודל חסדו ואהבתו אליך יענה ויאמר סלחתי. על כן חשתי ולא התמהמהתי לבוא אליך בשורות אלה למצוא חן בעיניך, וסלחת לעווני כי רב אתה. ספרך הנ"ל מונח לפני עתה מדי כתבי ועלי להשיב על הדברים הטעונים תשובה. בדבר הקראים דע כי שכר-מסך<sup>3</sup> אשר חשב כרוכלא כמה עירות בנאליצא למקום מושבות הקראים הוא הדיוט בעלמא וכשם שכל ספוריו הם פטפוטים אונר זיינע קאראקטערשילדערונגען<sup>4</sup> מאחינו ב"י קאריקאטורען המעוררים שחוק, כמוהם כן הם דבריו אדות הקראים, ובאמת כאשר קבלת כן הוא, וקבלה נכונה בידך, רק בהאליטש בנאליצא נמצאו דויו, יותר המקומות שחשב שכר-מסך: Luzk etc. הם ברוסיא.

את מו"ל<sup>5</sup> המנורה כבר ידעתי בשמו מפי השמועה, כי נודע לי לתהלה על טוב לבבו ויקרת רוחו ע"י איש נבון ומשכיל ר' יעקב ברילל ז"ל שהיה מורה ברומניה, והי' פיה מלא תהלתו.

המלאך פטריק לשעתו נברא, והוא מאותם המלאכים הנבראים מנהר דינור ואומרים שירה או מליצה ובטלים. התענגתי בדברייך המושכלים ומסוגלים בהחולים לעצמם, אבל בדעתי אני עומד, כי אפוטריקי לחור ופטריקי לחור וגם שניהם אינם שמות עצמיים כי אם כנויים, על המאמרים שאמרו בשמם, ותוכן מאמריהם מבורר בהם עד להפליא, וכי דרך מקרה הוא? - לדעת הרב פראנקל (מבוא הירוש'<sup>7</sup> פטרוקי =  $\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$  גם זה הבל. -

איך שטעה עבען אין אונטרהאנדלונג<sup>8</sup> על אדות הרפסת חוברת י"ג מהחלוץ, ובעוד

ובו הוא מודיע לו שנולד ב־18 ספטמבר 1818. ראה נ. גלבר: „ערים ואמהות בישראל“: ברודי, 213, הערה 206, ויוסף קלוזנור: „היסטוריה של הספרות העברית החדשה“, מהדורה ב', כרך ד', 58, הערה א 4. מהמכתב לפנינו אפשר להסיק שכבר ב־1886 חשב שור את 1818 כשנת הולדתו. דרך אגב כדאי להעיר שמכתבו הראשון של שור לשד"ל נכתב ב־20 במרץ 1832. אם נולד שור ב־1818 הרי היה רק בן ארבע עשרה כשהתחיל להחליף מכתבים עם שד"ל.<sup>3</sup> סולד, אביה של הנרייטה סולד. ספר זה נכתב עברית והופיע בבולטימור ב־1886.

## מכתב י"ז

Brody 24ten Juni '887<sup>1</sup>

ה' עמך איש יקר ונכבד!

אתמול באני מכתבך הגלוי מיום 6 ד"מ<sup>2</sup> ואמהר למלאות מבוקשך. ואשלחה לך היום חוברת מהחלוץ. והנני מקוה כי תמצא חן בעיניך. –  
באברן מכתבי אשר ערכתי אליך יום ב' רחוקה"מ<sup>3</sup> אין הנק גדול חלילה, כי כפי שאזכור הורעתיך כי שנית בחשבך כי החלוק אדות מלאת שבעים שנותי, הנהו רק בשנוי מספר ימי החרש, ובאמת לא הגעתי עדין לזקנה זאת. –<sup>4</sup>  
ודע כי לא יארכו הימים וחוברת הי"ג תצא לאור עולם, כי אין עלי הזמן. –  
היה ברכה ושלוש כנפשך ונפש ידיך ומוקירך

י. ה. שור

<sup>1</sup> שור שלח גלויה קצרה לפלזנטהל ב־19 מאי 1887 שאין לה חשיבות היסטורית ולכן אינני מביאה לדפוס. בשולי הגלויה הזאת ישנה העתקה של תשובתו של פלזנטהל. בה הוא מודיע לשור שהמכתב ששור שלח לו ביום השני של חול המועד פסח לא נתקבל. הגלויה המובאה פה היא תשובתו של שור.  
<sup>2</sup> דעס גונאטס.

<sup>3</sup> דחול המועד (פסח).

<sup>4</sup> ובכן שוב ראה ששור נולד ב־1818.

## מכתב י"ח

Brody 1ten November '887

אוהבי ואהובי, איש כלבבי, שלום וברכה!

נתת שמחה בלבי גם במכתבך היקר הכתוב יום 11 לירח סעפ<sup>1</sup>. גם בקונטרס: „מנורה“,<sup>2</sup> אשר בו הרבית לספר בשבחי. ואף אם הפרות על המדה הראויה לי, הלא ידעתי כי האהבה מקלקלת את השורה, וכונתך ודאי היתה רצויה ומשובחת וע"כ<sup>3</sup> ירחש לבבי לך ידידי היקר! תודה רבה. לא אעשה בנפשי שקר לכחד תחת לשוני. כי היו לי דבריך לששון ולשמחה. הן זה חלקי מכל עמלי שעמלתי מני אז ועד עתה. למצוא חן ושכל טוב בעיני חכמי לב האוהבים להתחקות על שרשי הרברים והענינים, אבל הלא ידעת כי בעו"ה<sup>4</sup> בני עליה המה מעטים ונער יכתבם, ומתי מספר המבינים. עפלה

<sup>6</sup> מאמרו של שור: הלכות גדולות, הלכות פסוקות והלכות קצובות הופיע בספר יובל החשים לכבוד צונץ: *Jubelschrift zum neunzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. L. Zunz*, ברלין, 1884, 127-141. המאמר הודפס שנית ב"החלוץ" י"ג.

<sup>6</sup> נפתלי מנדל שור (יל"ר), אחיו הגדול של שור שהיה גם כן סופר עברי. בסוף ספרו, הר המור' שיצא לאור ב־1875 כותב יל"ר שהוא, כבן שבעים שנה<sup>7</sup> הרי שהיה בערך בן 78 כשמת ב־1883. פרטים ביוגרפיים עליו יש למצוא ב"Jewish Encyclopedia", XI, 109.

<sup>7</sup> אני רק מצטער.

<sup>8</sup> "מה שרמזת עליו בנדון לענין המקומי . . . וכו'" כבר נודע לי מכתבי העתים . . ."; כתב ידו של שור איננו ברור. פלונטהל בהעתקתו השמיט את הקטע הזה.

<sup>9</sup> באו לידי כמה גליונות של העתון הו'רגוני המופיע בניירורק והוא מנוחך.

<sup>10</sup> מין תערובת של מלים רוסייות, אנגליות וכו'.

<sup>11</sup> אני מסכים לגמרי לדעתך על תעלוליהם של הדילטנטים בכתביהעת המליץ והמגיד בדברים העומדים ברומם של עולם, הם ריקנים ומצטעצעים במליצות ריקות ונבוכות בכדי לסמט את העינים.

<sup>12</sup> אם הנ"ל יגדלו את שמו ואת זכרו מסופקני מאד. והוא הדין בבנו ישעיה אשר הוציאן לאור, וכך אפשר לומר על בנו של הרב גייגר ז"ל . . . אשר הוציא לאור הכתבים שהניח אחריו. מה אומר אתה על מגלומניה הזו. רק חסר לנו שיחשוב את עצמו למשיח כבן-משפחתו רמח"ל (רבי משה חיים לוצטו). דרך אגב הוא היה טיפוס אציל. אבל אי אפשר לדבר על עקביות בדעותיו. למשל דעתו על יאסט (מרכוס יאסט ההיסטוריון) וכדומה. חזק היה בפילולוגיה ובחקירה. ולו הסתפק באלה טוב לו ולנו . . . בבקורת היה חלש מאד בכלל במכתביו הראשונים אל ש"ר (שלמה יצחק ראפופרט).

<sup>13</sup> הוא רצה שארקר לקול חלילו, דבר אשר לא היה לפי רוחו. טיפוסו היה מה שמסר גייגר בשעתו.

<sup>14</sup> גייגר הוסיף לזאת.

## מכתב ט"ו

Brody 26ten Sept. '886

שלום וברכה לשנה החדשה הבאה לקראתנו!

היו לי דברייך היקרים מיום 8 ר"מ לששון ולשמחה, וברכותיך אשר אצלת לי, עוררו בקרבי רגשי אהבה ותודה, כדברים היוצאים מן הלב נכנסים ללב. ואף אם הקרמת ברכותיך, כי עדין לא הגעתי לשנת השבעים<sup>2</sup>. אולם בכונן דא אין מוקדם ומאוחר.

רק במקרה בעלמא התאחרה הרפסת החלוץ חוברת י"ב, כי האיש אשר התרצה להשניח על ההגה' בווינא, נסע לדררכו על ג' ירחים. וכבר נודעתי כי שב לביתו, ולא יארכו הימים והחוברת תצא לאור, ואני אשלחה לך כי יקרת בעיני גם נכברת.

פי' איוב להרב שאלר<sup>3</sup> מבאלטימארע היה לגוד עיני, מה אומר? ומה אשפוט? - אכפילה ברכתי ברכת שנה טובה ומוצלחת ואחתום באהבה

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> ראשי תבות: דעס מונאטס; החדש הזה. המכתב של פלונטהל לא הגיע לירדנו.

<sup>2</sup> תאריך הולדתו של שור שנויה במחלוקת. רוב כותבי תולדותיו נותנים את התאריך 22 במאי 1814 ובוה כפי הנראה מסתמכים בנקרולוגים שהדפיס לאיו הרצברג פרנקל *Neuzeit* הווינאי XXXV, 414 וב"Brüll's Monatsblätter", XV, 244 וב"Block's Wochenschrift", XII, 661, וראה גם RMB (בריינין) בהצפירה XXII, 752, נרשום באדר ב'הפרדס" 181, והירש זיידל: ספר תולדות מוה"ר רבינו יהושע העשיל שור", 4. משה שטיינשניידר ב"Catologus Librum Hebrai" חשרי תקע"ו, 1816, 30 Sept. ועל בסיס זה ברך פלונטהל את שור במכתב שלפנינו. גם גיאורג קוהאט ב"Menorah" האמריקני, XIX, 306-305, מקבל את התאריך הזה. עיין מכתב י"ז הערה 4.

אבל באוסף שווארדון שעל יד הספריה הלאומית נמצא מכתב גרמני ששלח שור לרודנו בשנת 1894



בעיניך. – כי הלא ידעת כי העומדים בראש הקורטאריים דער צונג שטיפטונג בברלין נמנו וגמרו ליום מלאת תשעים שנה לשנות חייו של החכם הנכבד הזה – 10 אויג' 3 – איינע יובעלשריפט צו פערעפנטליכען<sup>4</sup> אשר יבואו בה מאמרים שונים מחכמי הדור בלשונות שונות. וגם אנכי נקראתי לבוא בתוך הבאים. ובשמחה רבה נדרשתי לאשר שאלוני, ואמהר ואכתוב מאמר כיד ה' הטובה עלי, והייתי מוכרח להחיש מעשי, כי הזמן קצר מאד, ולסבה זו התמהמהתי להשיב לך, כאשר היא הסבה גם אחר הדפסת החלון י"ב. – האין זו סבה מספקת אשר בכחה לנקות את נפשי? –

ועתה אבוא להשיב למכתבך היקר. השמועה אשר שמעת יסודתה במיתתו של אחי הגדול מליץ ודובר צחות אשר היה מתגורר בלבוב.<sup>6</sup> איך בערויערע נור?<sup>7</sup> כי שמועה זו הראיבה את רוחך הטהור.

וואס זיא איבר דאס דארטיגע טרייבען דער ווייס . . . . א. ז. ו. אנדרייטען, ואשר כבר נודע לי מכתבי העתים, איזט בעטריבענר גענוג.<sup>8</sup>

איך האבע איין פאאר נו' דער אין נואיארק ערשיינעדען זארגאנצייטונג צו קאסטען בעקאממען, דאס קאמישע איזט,<sup>9</sup> כי הקוראים בארצי אינם מבינים את שפתם זו אשר ברו להם איין געמענגעל פאן רוססישען ענגלישען ע. צ. ווערטערן.<sup>10</sup>

איך שטיממע פאלקאממען איהרעס אורטהיילע ביא איבר דאס וויסטע טרייבען דער אונבערופענען סקריבלער במ"ע המליץ ומגיד על דברים העומדים ברומו של עולם. דאס זינר האחלקעפפע, דא מיט ניכטסזאגענדען איינשטודירטען פהראזען אום זיך ווערפען לסמות את העינים.<sup>11</sup>

אגרות שד"ל בידך הן כאשר ראיתי ממכתבך. אב זעלבע לכבוד שמו וזכרו ביא טראגען ווערדען, מסופקני מאד. עס גילט עבען מבנו 'שעי' אשר הוציא לאור, דאס ליכע וואר זאז.<sup>12</sup> איבר בנו של הרב גיינער ז"ל אשר הוציא לאור הכתבים שהניח אחריו געזאגט. וואס זאגען זיא צו דער זעלבסט פערגעטטערוג? צו ריעזעס גרעסענוואהן? עס פעהלמע ניכט פיעל דאס ער זיך וויא זיין פארפאהר רמח"ל אלס משיח גיריע איבערגענס וואר ער איין זעהר ערלער קאראקטער, פאן קאנסעקווענץ אין זיינען אורטהיילען קאן קיינע רעדע זיין. צייגע דעססען זיין אורטהייל איבר יאסט וכדומה. – זיינע שטערקע בעשטאנד אין שפראכקונדע אונד פרשן ווען ער זיך נור דאמיט בענגונט העטטע טוב לו ולנו, אין בקורת וואר ער זעהר שוואך. איבר הויפט אין זיינען ערשטען ברעפען אן ש"ר,<sup>13</sup> המלאים טעיות כרמון. – כן הוא כאשר כתבתי כי מעת צאת לאור החלון א' נהפך שד"ל לאיש אחר ויפן לי עורף, ער וואללמע איך זאל נאך זיינר פפייפע טאנצען, וואס מיר ניכט קאנווענירמע. קאראקטעריסטיש איזט אבער דאס וויא מיר גיינר ז"ל ז. צ. מיטטהיילטע<sup>14</sup> קבל מכתב משד"ל בבקשה לפעול עלי לשנות לפחות שם „החלון“ ואז ישלח לי מאמרים. גיינר פיגט הינצו,<sup>15</sup> כי שד"ל יאהב אותי כבן ונפשו עגמה על הפרידה, ובכל זאת הוא – גיינר – יעצני שלא לשנות את שם החלון – הלא הדברים עתיקים בהחלון א' הוצאה שניה.

היה ברכה ירידי הרב היקר ודע כי יקרת בעיני גם נכבדת ואני אהבתיך, ובכל עת תבואני אגרתך אשמחה אלי גיל, שמחני אפוא עד מהרה במכתבך אני ידיך ומכבדך

<sup>1</sup> מכתב זה של פלונטהל איננו.

<sup>2</sup> ודרך ארץ.

<sup>3</sup> אויגוסט.

<sup>4</sup> להוציא לאור ספר יובל.

צייטגייסט באמערקא.<sup>4</sup> ראיתי לפעמים מאמרים שיצאו מת"י,<sup>5</sup> ונהנתי בראותי כי עפ"י הרב הייתה דעתי מסכמת לדעתך. זא עראינערע איך מ'ך בבקורתך לענציקלאפ' מהמברגר, ומחברת השירים שיצאה לאור ברומניה ודומיהן. שאדע דאס דיזע צ"ש איינגעגאנגען, זא אונטרהילט דאך איינען קאנעקס בין ארצך וארצנו, אף שבאמת באטהען רב המאמרים הליטראריים ניכט פיעל. זא וויילאנד דיא פאראללעלע בין ספורי רבב"ח<sup>8</sup> אונד סקאנדינאווישען מיטהאלוגיא וכיוצא בו. —<sup>9</sup>

מגירי החדשות יספרו מאספת רבנים בארצך לחקן תקונים. ורב א' הציע לחוג חג ווייהנאכטען<sup>10</sup> יחד עם הנוצרים, וחברו הציע להעתיק יום השבת ליום א' לשבוע ואחר הציע לבטל לגמרי מצות מילה ודומה לאלה. הודיעני אם כך הוא. את שמך היקר לא מצאתי במספר המתקנים, מרבני הדת, האלה, ונהנתי.

אין דער יידישען פרעססע מאבט יעצט דער שטרייט איבר נאטיאנאליטעט אדער רעליגיאנסגענאססענשאפט. עס איזט איין יאממער צו זעהען וויא דיא שטרייטערען זיך גענענזייטיג מיט קאלבענשלענען טראקטירען, אונד דאן אים פינסטערן הערומטאפפען,<sup>11</sup> כי לא ידעו לחשוב כן. — החלוחי חוברת י"ב כבר מסודרת ועומדת ואיננה חסרה אלא העתקה נקיה ומיושרת. —

מצבי הן בנופני הן ברוחני לעסט ניכטס צו ווינשען איבריג. מיינע פעקוניערען פעהרעלמניססע זינט זעהר גוט,<sup>12</sup> ואלויך יידי אודה בכל לב כי תדאג לי. היה ברכה ושמחני מעת אל עת ברברייך היקרים וגם אנכי הנני מוכן ומזומן להשיב לך כנפשך שבךך

ידיך

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> אחרי הפסקה של ארבע שנים התחיל פלזנטהל שוב בחליפת מכתבים. מכתבו של פלזנטהל לא נשמר, והנה תשובתו של שור.

<sup>2</sup> הפתעה נעימה היו לי שורותיך היקרות, מה'14 לחדש שעבר.

<sup>3</sup> מכתבי'עתי.

<sup>4</sup> על הצייטגייסט ראה מכתב י"ג, הערה 6.

<sup>5</sup> מתחת ירך.

<sup>6</sup> זוכר אני את בקורתך.

<sup>7</sup> צייטשריפט; כתבי'עתי.

<sup>8</sup> רבה בר בר חנה.

<sup>9</sup> חבל שנפסק כתבי'העת הזה אשר קיים קשר בין ארצך ובין ארצנו, אף אם באמת רוב המאמרים הליטראריים לא היה להם ערך רב. כך למשל בזמנן ההקבלות בין ספורי רבה בר בר חנה ובין המיתולוגיה הסקנדינבית.

<sup>10</sup> חג המולד הנוצרי.

<sup>11</sup> בעתונות היהודית נטושה המלחמה בין הלאומיות או הדתיות, באמת מדאיב הדבר לראות איך שהמתנזחים מכבדים זה את זה במכות חובלים ולבסוף מגששים באפלה.

<sup>12</sup> אין מה להתאונן עליו. מצבי הכספי הוא טוב מאד.

## מכתב ט"ו

Brody 21ten Juli '884

רב יקר ונכבד שלום וברכה!

הרבה יותר מראי אחרתי להשיב לספרך היקר מיום<sup>22</sup> אפריל,<sup>1</sup> אשר בא אלי במועדו והיה לי לששון ולשמחת לבב, הלא יחשבני השומע לכפוי טובה, אשר פנה עורף לנמוס וד"א,<sup>2</sup> אבל לבבי נכון בטוח כי בהודע לך הסבה אשר מנעתני, אז איתם ונקתי

איהרע איבריגען מיטטהיילונג איבר דיא דארטיגען פעהרעלטניססע בקרב אחינו בני בריתנו, האבע [איך] מיט גראסעס אינטערעססע געלעזן. אמנם צדקת מאד ווען זיא דיא היערלאנדישען שו"ת: הרבנים איבר „ביצה שגולדה ביו"ט, או אם גיורת בתולותיה חורין וכדומה, מיט דען דארטיגען לעבענספראגען דעס יודענטהומס, אשר נתנו להרבנים לענות בהן. אין פאראללאלן שטעללען. צוואר לאססען דיא צושטענדע אין רעליגיוזער הינזיכט גם בארץ מגורין נאך זעהר פיעלעס צו ווינשען. איבריג,<sup>4</sup> וגם על ארצך כתוב: ובני קרח לא מתו, אבל כרחוק מורח ממערב, וצפון מים כן רחקו דרך רבני ארצך, מדרכם של רבני ארצי, ובפרט מיום שעמדה כת הרשעה, כת המחזיקים,<sup>5</sup> גסי השכל הריזים ובורים, ובראשם ריש בריוני שמעון סופר בנו של ר' משה סופר אשר צוה לבניו אחריו: בספרי רמ"ד<sup>6</sup> אל תשלח יד ורגלך לא תמער עדי ער, גברה אנורפן של הרבנים ואין לך יום שאין קללתו מרובה משל חברו. – תשובתך על דבר האיש שאביו ישראלי ואמו מצרית שבא ליכנס בברית בני ברית, בנויה על אדני השכל הישר וכמדומני כי כבר נמצא מאמר על הענין הזה מהרב „מאזעס" המוציא לאור מ"ע: דער צייטניסט<sup>7</sup> הנשלח לידי מדי שבועים בשבועים מיד בצאתו ממכש הדפוס. וואהרשיינליך האבען זיא דיא אנרגענונג צו ריזער אויסאיינאנדערעצונג געגעבען. – איך גלויבע אויך פריהער איינען אויפזאץ פאן קאהלער געלעזען צו האבען וועלכער געגען זיא געריכטעט וואר,<sup>8</sup> גם תשובתך על דבריו. עס איזט אויך ניכט צו פערואונדערן ווען דיא בעטרעפענדע פאלעמיק מיטאונטער שארף אויספעללט, עס גילט עבען דברים העומדים ברומו של עולם.<sup>9</sup>

איך מאכע מיך דאראן לסדר החלוקי חוברת י"ב מעגע איך נור ניט געשטערט ווערען.<sup>10</sup>

והנני חותם באהבה רבה ובבקשה לשמחני כפעם בפעם בספרך,  
מוקירך ומכבדך כערכך הרב

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> אויגוסט.

<sup>2</sup> ראשי תבות: ה.קורספונדענץ קארטע" – גלויה.

<sup>4</sup> קראתי את שאר הערותיך על דבר המצב שם בקרב אחינו בני בריתנו בענין רב. צדקת מאד בהשוותך את השאלות ותשובות של הרבנים מפה עם שאלות החיים של היהדות אשר נתנו להרבנים לענות בהן אצלכם. ברם המצב, בארץ מגורין בנוגע לדת, עוד איננו משיב דען.

<sup>5</sup> „מחזיקי הדת," מפלגה ארתודוקסית שנוסדה בלמברג והתפשטה בכל גליציה.

<sup>6</sup> ראשי תבות: רבי משה דעסוי: הוא משה מנדלסון.

<sup>7</sup> *Der Zeitgeist*: כתבי"ת שיצא לאור במילוואקי, ויסקונסון (הקרובה לשיקאגו), בעריכת אייזיק מוס ואמיל ג. הירש.

<sup>8</sup> לפי הנראה אתה הוא הנורם לחלוקי הדעות האלה. נדמה לי שקראתי זה כמה מאמר של קוהלר העורך נגדך.

<sup>9</sup> אין להתפלא כי פולמוס זה נעשה חריף, אכן דברים אלה עומדים ברומו של עולם.

<sup>10</sup> אני מתכוון לסדר את החלוקי חוברת י"ב ולואי ולא יפריעו לי.

## מכתב י"ד

Brody 14ten März '884<sup>1</sup>

שלום וברכה!

זעהר אנגענעהם איבערראשאן מיך איהרע ליעבען ציילען פאם 14 פ"מ<sup>2</sup> אחרי אשר זה כביר חדלת לכתוב אלי. ועתה כי באת לדרוש בשלומי הנני אומר לך יישר. אך למותר אחשבה להבטיחך כי שמחתי ברבריק היקרים. זה שנים בצאת לאור מ"ע<sup>3</sup>

## מכתב י"ב

Brody 19ten März '880<sup>1</sup>

שלום וברכה!

באוני כתבך השנים מיום הפורים ומיום י"ח אדר,<sup>2</sup> ואשמח במ ונ"כ<sup>3</sup> באוני גליונים אשר גלית במ את מבוקשה של האשה העגונה.<sup>4</sup> ואודה לך כי נדרשת לשאלתי בדבר מצוה זו. מכתבך האחרון ראיתי כי באו לדרך מחברות החלוץ י"א אחרי אשר אחרו לבוא ימים רבים. התענגתי מאד כשמעי מפיד כי הדברים שקראת מצאו חן בעיניך. רק נפלאתי כי לא הודעתני אם באוך גליוני המ"ע<sup>5</sup> העברי הכוללים: „רשפי א"ש" אשר שלחתי לך למנה. ואני אמרתי כי יעלו לרצון לפניך. זעלבע זינר נגד המחשיכים בארצנו געריכטעט אונד ערפרייען זיך היער איינעס גראסען בייאפאללס.<sup>6</sup> גליוני מ"ע היוצאים במדינתך ששלחת לי בטובך, האבע מיט פיעלעס אינטערעססע געלעזען.<sup>7</sup> מי מלל לנו דאס באמריקא האט אינטערעססע בדברים הנוגעים לדתנו ולאחינו וא לעבהאפט רעגע ווערע.<sup>8</sup>

שמחני נא עד מהרה בדברך, אני מכבדך ומוקירך

י-ה-ש

הוצאות שליחת החוברות מהמבורג לשיקאגו עלו לסך  $12\frac{1}{2}$  מארק!! אם יש את נפשך לכתוב אלי איזו חרשות מארצך המוכשרות להתפרסם במ"ע „העברי" או יהיה לאל ידי לתקן הטעות שפלטת קולמסי, בהנוגע לשמך: ברוך אריה אונד ווערדע איך מיט פרנגיגן טהון.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> גלויה.<sup>2</sup> שני המכתבים הנזכרים אינם באוסף.<sup>3</sup> ונס כן.<sup>4</sup> ראה סוף מכתב י"א.<sup>5</sup> מכתב עת.<sup>6</sup> הנ"ל נערכו נגד המחשיכים בארצנו ונתקבלו פה בתשואות רבות.<sup>7</sup> קראתי בענין רב.<sup>8</sup> מי מלל לנו שבאמריקה יכולים דברים הנוגעים לדתנו ולאחינו לעורר התענינות ערה כל כך.<sup>9</sup> בתקופה זו כפי הנראה השתתף שור במערכת „העברי" שהופיע בעריכת יעקב וועבער.<sup>10</sup> „ואני אעשה את זאת בעונג רב." בתחילת מאמרו „מילה לנר", החלוץ י"א, 67, טועה יה"ש בשמו הראשון של פלונטהל וקורא לו רר' אליהו ברוך פעלזענטהאל.

## מכתב י"ג

Brody 27ten October '880

שלום וברכה!

בשובי הביתה מצאתי את ספרך היקר כתוב 27 אויג<sup>1</sup> ואשמח עליו כעל כל הון. חן חן לך איש יקר! כי זכרתי לטובה ולברכה ותפקדני לשלום בראשית השנה. ואף כי, כפי הנראה ממכתבך, לא באך הק"ק<sup>2</sup> ששלחתי אליך או לקיים קבלת מחיר החלוץ י"א, בכל זאת לא חדלת ידידותך ממני חן חן לך. –

## מכתב י"א

Brody 23ten Jan. '880<sup>1</sup>

להרב היקר והנכבד שלום וברכה!

זה איזה ירחים באני ספר יקר ממך ואשמח בו, ואחר עד עתה להשיב לך, כי הוחלתי יום יום לקראת החוברת הי"א מהחלוץ,<sup>2</sup> ובאשמת או בעצלות המדפיס ארכו הימים עד אתמול ומהרתי לשלוח לידך דרך המבורג כנהוג <sup>21</sup> עקס', חוברת אחת תקבל מידי למתנה מנחת מזכרת אהבה וכבוד, והנותרות יהי נא את לבבך הטוב להשתדל במכירתן א' <sup>2</sup> Fl. כאשר הבטחתי, והנני מקוה כי המאמרים הבאים במחברת זו יפיקו רצון מאתך. איך לעגטע אויך ביאי איין פאקעט צייטונגסבלעטטער ממ"ע, "העברי" היוצא לאור בעירי אונד צוואר דיאינענעגן נו' הכוללים: "רשפי א"ש"<sup>4</sup> הנשלחים מאתי. דיא פריהערן נו' דיא איבר דיא וואהלען אין דען עסטער' רייכסראטה האנדעלן אונד זיא וועניגער אינטע' רעססירען דירפטען האבע [איך] צוריקגעלאסען.<sup>5</sup> והנני מקוה כי גם הרשפים יעלו לריח נחוח לפניך כאשר עלו גם לפני חכמי אירופא. יהיה בזה איך שיהי' כונתי ודיא רצויה להראות לך אות אהבה וכבוד. – איש א' שמו איזאאקס היושב בעיר New York שלח לי ב' נו'. "איזראעליטישע פרעסע"<sup>6</sup> היוצא לאור בעירך, ובהם מאמר ממך בדבר מילה לגר, גם תשובתו שהשיב לך שם, ויבקשני להשיב לו אם אמת נכון הדבר כי הסכמתי על ידך. איך וואר אנפאנגס געזאנען להשיב לו מענה. אך בראותי סוף תשובתו שערך דברי בלע נגדך חזרתי בי ולא עניתי לו דבר. איבריגענס ווירד דער מאן שון ממאמרי "מילה לגר" ענטנעהמען קענען מה דעתי בענין זה.<sup>8</sup>

עוד דבר לי אליך ומובטחני כי לא תשיב את פני ריקס. באה אלי אשה עגונה אשר בעלה עזבה זה חמש שנים וילך אמעריקה. אונד האט זיא אין זעהר עלענדער לאנע צוריקגעלאסען. זעלבע איזט איינע היעזיגע פון ארדענטליכען עלטערן. זיא וויינטע ביטערליך אונד פלעהטע<sup>9</sup> לכתוב אליך להשתדל לטובתה לפרסם הדבר בצייטונגען במדינתך ולדרוש ולחקור אחרי האיש והלואי שיעלה בידך לפעול אצלו א' מג' אלהים או לשוב הנה לאשתו או לקחת את אשתו אליו. או לשלוח לה גט פטורין. – רצוף בזה איזה פרטים הנוגעים לענין זה. אין ספק אצלי כי תעשה כל מה שביכולתך לטובת האשה האומללה והעניה הזאת ולמצוה רבה יחשב.

היה ברכה ושלום כנפשוך ונפש ידיך ומוקירך

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> תשובה למכתב שפלונוטהל של ליה"ש ב'10 לספטמבר, 1879.<sup>2</sup> יצא לאור בפראג, 1880.<sup>3</sup> פלורין.<sup>4</sup> במכתב זה יה"ש מזכיר שהוא חבר את "רשפי אש". רשימה מפורטת של "הרשפים" נתנה ביבליוגרפיה על יה"ש שהדפסתי *Studies in Bibliography & Booklore*, II (1955), 29-33.<sup>5</sup> אני מצרף בזה גם כן צרור של גליונות ממכתב עת "העברי" היוצא לאור בעירי, וביוחד "המספרים" האלה הכוללים "רשפי אש" הנשלחים מאתי. את החוברות הקודמות אשר דנים על הבחירות לרייכסראט האוסטרי ואשר אין בהן ענין רב החסרתי.<sup>6</sup> יצא לאור בשיקאגו, 1877-1880, ואח"כ בניוירוק, 1880-1885. העורכים היו נחמן בער עטלזאן וש. ל. מארקוס. המערכת גם הוציאה נספח עברי לעתון בשם "היכל העבריה". ראה: י. שאצקי, געשיכטע פון דער יידישער פרעסע, אלעמיינע ענציקלאפעדיע, יידן, כרך ג', 341.<sup>7</sup> לכתחילה היה בדעתי.<sup>8</sup> חוץ מזה יכול האיש כבר ממאמרי "מילה לגר" להבין את דעתי בענין זה.<sup>9</sup> והשאיר אותה במצב קשה מאד. הנ"ל היא ממקומנו, ממשפחה הגונוה. היא בוכה מרות ומתחננת . . .<sup>10</sup> אחד משלה אלה.



אקוה כי במשך שנה זו אוציא לאור החוברת הי"א מהחלוץ. המאמרים המיועדים לבא בה כבר הם מסודרים ועומדים, נור מאכט מיר דיא ריינשריפט גראסע שווערינקייט.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ראשי תבות: דעס מונאטס, החודש הזה.

<sup>2</sup> שטר חליפים לסכום.

<sup>3</sup> או שבבית הדואר גופו אין הענינים כשורה.

<sup>4</sup> שמואל אדלר כתב מאמר במונאטשריפט שדן על המושג „ממחרת השבת“ (ויקרא כ"ג: י"א). ראה „ממחרת השבת“ XXVII (1878), 522–528, 568–574. פלונטהל מעיר במכתבו הקודם על מאמר זה. מונאטשריפט

<sup>5</sup> כתב־יד.

<sup>6</sup> ספר אדרת אליהו, דף ע', עמוד ג' (הוצאת אודיסה, 1870).

<sup>7</sup> אמר.

<sup>8</sup> בספר.

<sup>9</sup> אחד.

<sup>10</sup> החכם.

<sup>11</sup> רבי אברהם אבן עזרא.

<sup>12</sup> ברבי אברהם אבן עזרא.

<sup>13</sup> עד כאן.

<sup>14</sup> אבן ג'נאח.

<sup>15</sup> רבוחינו זכרונם לברכה.

<sup>16</sup> ציון I (1841), 166–168, 193–196. תולדות חכמי ישראל: אהרון אלירבי.

<sup>17</sup> על התורה.

<sup>18</sup> שיר השירים.

<sup>19</sup> רק ההעתקה בכתב נקי קשה לי מאד.

## מכתב י'

Brody 20ten Aug. '879<sup>1</sup>

ברכה ושלום!

הנני להודיעך בזה כי חוברת הי"א מהחלוץ כבר היא תחת מכבש הדפוס, ותכלול גם מאמר „מילה לגר“. ויש את לבבי לשלוח לך עקס' א' במתנה אחרי כי שמך נזכר לתהלה, אמור נא לי בטובך אם יהיה ביכלתך לחלק איזו עקס' א' 2, וכמה? – זה כמה לא כתבת אלי, ויהי נא מטובך להודיעני משלומך ואת כל אדותיך, הלא ידעת כי יקרת בעיני גם נכבדת. – החוברת הנ"ל כוללת מאמרים, דיא וואהל איהר אינטערעססע ערעגען דירפטען, צ. ב. איבר<sup>2</sup> ירוש' ובבלי; חלופי גברי; ירוש' סדר קדשים; באורים למאמרים ומלות בתלמודים ספרא ספרי מכילתא ותוספתא ומדרשים, מספרם 60 וכדומה.

מכברך ומוקירך

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> גלויה. שור פותח שוב בחליפת המכתבים אחרי הפסקה של יותר משנה. בצרור המכתבים אין תשובה מאת פלונטהל למכתב ששלח לו שור ב־30 לדצמבר, 1878 (מכתב ט').

<sup>2</sup> שבדאי יעוררו את התענינותך. למשל על . . .

## מכתב ט'

Brody 30ten Dec. '878

אהובי ואהובי, איש כלבבי, נאמן רוח אין בו רמיה מודע לבינה ושוחר תושיה, שלום וברכה!

אחרתי להשיב על ספרך היקר והנחמד כתוב יום 2 ד"מ, כי בצפוני צפיתי לקראת מכתבו של הרב זצאלר, ואומר אחכה עד בואו ואז אכתוב לך ואגלה את אונך גם בנדרון זה, והנה באני היום ספרך היקר מיום 9 דנא ומה שבתוכו סעקונדא וועקססל פר' 2<sup>50</sup>, 20 מארק שנשלח לידך מיד הרב הג"ל להריצוהו אלי, ואתה ידידי כאיש נאמן לשולחו מהרת לשלחו אלי, ולבבי יהמה לך תורה רבה. – אין זאת אלא או שהשליח אשר שלח בידו המכתב והספרים אל הבי דואר פשע בשליחותו, אדער עס געהט על הבי דואר ועלבסט ניכט מיט רעכטען דינגען צו.<sup>3</sup> נראה נא מה יהא בסופו של התכריך אשר אמר לשלוח אלי מחדש. –

מדי קראי הרברים שהעתקת לפני בשם הרב אדלער נדון ממחרת השבת,<sup>4</sup> נזכרתי כי קמחא טחינא טחין, וכבר קדמו אחר והקראי לוי בן לוי בן יפת בספר המצות שלו כ"י<sup>5</sup> עמד נגדו לסתור דעתו, ולראבון נפשי אין הספר הזה בירי לעיין בו, אך זאת אזכור כי סתירותיו הן קלושות מאד. ואקחה לפני ספר האדרת ומצאתי (פ"ז מחג השבועות):<sup>6</sup> החכם רבינו ישועה א' בס' אוצר נחמד שאיש א' מבני ישראל היה ושמו בכתאן והיה מסמין זה החג אל הקציר לבר לא זולתו, והיה מפני סמכו במאמר מהחל חרמש בקמה, וכבר האריך הח' רבינו לוי להשיב על דבריו ותכלית דבריו היה שההגברה בדעתנו הוא מפסח יהושע כפי מה שזכרנו וכו'.

דעתך שהראב"ע<sup>11</sup> רמז לדעת זו בסודו היא קרובה בעיני, וזה סגנון לשונו כפי שהוא בראב"ע<sup>12</sup> כ"י ישן שבידי: והנה ארמזו לך סוד אחר שכל המועדים תלויים ביום ידוע, כי החדש לא נאמר בחג השבועות. מספר בעבור הספירה שהיא מצוה ע"כ.<sup>13</sup>

ואין להתפלא מבכתאן, איש א' מבני ישראל, אשר חוה דעתו שלא כהלכת הרבנים ולא כהלכת הקראים כי לא אלמן ישראל מני אז, הלא הר' יצחק הישראלי, הוא אשר כנהו הראב"ע: „המהביל“ הודיע דעתו בפומבי כי עזרא כתב התורה, ו'ן ג'נאח<sup>14</sup> לא נתעצל לשבש הנוסחאות בכתבי הקדש, וגם בדור מאוחר ר' אהרון אלרבי התל והתלוצץ בפרהסיא בדרשות רז"ל.<sup>15</sup> הוא אלרבי אשר הרחבתי הרבור אדותיו זה שנים רבות במכתב עתי ציון<sup>16</sup> שהוציאו לאור ה' יוסט וקריצנאך. הראית את פירושו על רש"י עה"ת,<sup>17</sup> כי יקר הוא מאד, וכל חכמי הדור השתוממו אז כאשר גליתי את דרכו. ספרו הוא יקר במציאות מאד, ולא היה נודע כלל וכלל. – כמדומני שהראב"ע התלוצץ על ר' יצחק הישראלי על שהכניס בפרשת בראשית דברים על אמונת צאראטהוסטרא, ובאמת יש לו להישראלי יתד גדול לתקוע בו. –

שמעתי כי נמצא באיזה מכתבי העת בקורת פי' ד"ר קאהלער ופי' ד"ר יוועפי על שה"ש,<sup>18</sup> והבטיחוני לתתה לי, ואם אמצא בה דבר הגון אשלחה לך. –

ואתה איש כלבבי! שמחני נא כפעם בפעם ברבריק החביבים עלי מאד ודע כי יקרת גם נכבדת בעיני ואני אהבתיך

## מכתב ח'

Brody 13ten Nov. '878

להרב היקר והנכבד איש כלבבי שלום וברכה!

תכלית ספרי זה להורות לך על ספרך היקר מיום 17 פ"מ, ועל תמונתך הנעימה אשר כבדתני בה לשמחת לבבי ורוחי, ולהודיעך כי לא באני עד היום מהרב Szold<sup>2</sup> לא מכתב ולא „סדר עבודת ישראל" וק"ל בן בנו של ק"ק<sup>3</sup> שלא שלח עדין מחיר הספרים. והנני מבקשך לגלות את אזנו בכל זה, אולי נאבדו כל אלה בדרך, ודע מה לעשות. אבל אתה איש יקר! מני אז הכרתיך בספריך וכתביך דבקה נפשי אחריך, כי איש אמונים אתה ומוצא שפתיך תשמור כאשר אהבתי. – תרגום שה'ש<sup>4</sup> ובאורו מקאללער<sup>5</sup> אשר שלחת לי קבלתי והנני עונה במשפטך. הביאור על כיריעות שלמה שהביא בשם ברילל מצא חן בעיני. – מנעו-יארק באני לוח שנה זו, ואין ספק בעיני כי אתה היית הנסכה בשליחותו, ואודה לך. מאמרך המחוכם קראתי ונהניתי. – כל דבריך אדות מאמרך על מילה לגר, ועל דרכם של רבני ארצי אמורים בצדק ובמשפט. אמנם כן הוא כמעט ספו תמו חכמי התלמוד, וכמעט אינם, וגם המעטים שנמצאו עור אינם מהיושבים כסאות לרבנות, וגם משיבות של מעלה בברסלויא ובבערלין לא תצא תורה. רב הרבנים החדשים עוסקים ברברים נקלים כבבליאגראפיא וכדומה שהן רק פרפראות. – פילייכט נעהמע איך פעראנלאססונג איין ערנסטעס ווארט אן רבני ארצנו צו ריכטען<sup>6</sup> מרי דברי בחוברת הי"א<sup>7</sup> על קונטרסך. –

מיט פיעלעס אינטערעסעס קראתי מ"ש<sup>8</sup> אלי אדות בנו של הרב אדלער<sup>9</sup> ופעולתו ודרכו, נוכח ונחיה ונראה מה יהא בסופו. – אגרות הרב גייגר ז"ל קראתי גם אנכי בשמחה ובתשוקה רבה. ועלבע ווערפען איין העללעס ליכט אויף ד' שטורם-אונד דראנג<sup>10</sup> פערירוע.

היה ברכה כנפשך ונפש מכבדך ומוקירך כערכך הרב

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> ראשי תבות: פעראנגאנענען מונאטס, החדש שעבר. מכתבו של פלזנטה לא נשמר.  
<sup>2</sup> הרב בנימין סוולד (1829–1902) רב ריפורמי בבאלימור, מרילאנד; אביה של הנרייטה סוולד. ראה: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XI, 652.  
<sup>3</sup> קל וחומר בן בנו של קל וחומר.  
<sup>4</sup> שיר השירים.  
<sup>5</sup> קויפמן קוהלר; ראה מכתב ו', הערה 5. שם הספר: *Das Hohe Lied übersetzt und Kritisch*.  
<sup>6</sup> *neubearbeitet*, ניו-יורק, 1878.  
<sup>7</sup> יתכן שארשה לעצמי לערוך קול קורא רציני אל רבני ארצנו.  
<sup>8</sup> של „החלוץ".  
<sup>9</sup> בהתעניינות רבה. . . מה שכתבת.  
<sup>10</sup> פליכס אדלר. ראה מכתב ו', הערה 9.  
<sup>11</sup> הג'ל מפציצים אור בהיר על תקופת ה„שטורם אונד דראנג".

- <sup>1</sup> שור כתב מכתב קצר לפלונטהל ב'29 ל'ולי אשר בו דן במכירת כרכי, החלוקי; למכתב זה אין שום חשיבות ולכן איני מביאו לדפוס.
- <sup>2</sup> מכתבו של פלונטהל נכתב גרמנית ונמצא בארכיון American Jewish Historical Society.
- <sup>3</sup> אל הרב בנימין סוולד; ראה מכתב ח', הערה 2.
- <sup>4</sup> ראשי תבות בורמנית: פרו אנוויזונג; על פי המתאחדואר.
- <sup>5</sup> רב תודות לך עבור הדין וחשבון המעניין על מצבם המקומי של אחינו בני ישראל. דין וחשבון זה המציא לי סקירה ברורה על עניני הדת הטרנניים. יתכן שאשתמש בהודמנות זו לערוך קול קורא אל רבני ארצך כתוספת למאמרי על הבריתא הירועה. (הבריתא ביבמות מ"ו הדנה בשאלת מילה לגר). ראה מכתב ג'.
- <sup>6</sup> קוהלר הנהו בעצם אחר מן הגדולים אשר גדל הרב גייגר ז"ל. הוא (גייגר) העמיד את ניובאר כביבליוגרף, את חוולסון כחושף עתיקות מקראיות, את דוצי כמגלה שבט שמעון ואת קוהלר כחוקר התנ"ך. אמנם הרצאותיו (של גייגר) בסמינר אין להם ערך רב.
- אדולף ניובאר (1831-1907): ביבליוגרף יהודי חשוב ששימש כספרן בספריה הבודילנית של אוקספורד. ראה: *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, 154-155.
- דניאל חוולסון (1819-1911): מורחן יהודי-רוסי ששימש כפרופסור באוניברסיטה הפטרבורגית לאחר שנשחמד. כשהיה תלמיד בורמניה נעזר על ידי גייגר. ראה: *Encyclopedia Judaica*, V, 584-585.
- ריינהרט דוצי (1820-1883): מורחן נוצרי והסטריון של ספרד המושלמת. דוצי האמין שיהודי מיכה מוצאם משבט שמעון. ראה ספרו: *Die Israeliten zu Mekka von Davids Zeit etc.* (1864).
- כפי הנראה שור חושבו לתלמידו הרותני של גייגר כיון שגייגר היה הפותח בחקירת היחסים שבין היהדות והאשלים. על דוצי ראה: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VII, 566.
- על קוהלר ראה מכתב ו', הערה 5.
- <sup>7</sup> המוכיר *Hebräische Blätter Bibliographie* כתב עת ביבליוגרפי שהופיע בברלין בעריכת משה שטיינשניידר (מ"ש). הביבליוגרף היהודי הירוע. שטיינשניידר השתתף ב"החלוקי". על שטיינשניידר (1816-1907) ראה: *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 204. הבקורת על ספרו של פלונטהל הופיע בכרך י"ח (1878), מס' 103, II-13.
- <sup>8</sup> במוכיר למש"ש מוצא אני בקורת חיובית על קונטרסך. מבקר זה, שהוא בעל מרה שחורה, ממש הפתיעני.
- <sup>9</sup> שם הספר הוא *Culture and Creed* ומחברו פליכס אדלר (1851-1933) מיסד תנועת התרבות המוסרית (Ethical Culture). אביו היה הרב שמואל אדלר. ראה: *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 91-92.
- <sup>10</sup> יצא לאור כרך ה' של כל כתבי הרב גייגר הכולל מכתבים שונים וגם יומן אשר קראתי בענין רב.
- <sup>11</sup> בלשון קודש.
- <sup>12</sup> *Nachgelassene Schriften*, V, ברלין, 1877.
- <sup>13</sup> באוני שני עקסמפלים מבנו של גייגר (לודוויג גייגר).
- <sup>14</sup> הערתך.
- <sup>15</sup> רבי אליעזר.
- <sup>16</sup> עובדי כוכבים ומזלות.
- <sup>17</sup> רבי יהושע.
- <sup>18</sup> החלטתי עליהם כבר במאמרי.
- <sup>19</sup> אפשר להסבירם רק מכת השמועה.
- <sup>20</sup> בנוגע לחששוניך נדון הנמטריאות במאמר בלעם הרשע ותלמידיו ("החלוקי" י', 32-46).
- <sup>21</sup> נוסיתי להסביר אותו למפרע במבוא למאמרי.
- <sup>22</sup> וזה הפתיעני.
- <sup>23</sup> ודי להכימא.
- <sup>24</sup> יוש אומרים.
- <sup>25</sup> ואין צורך להגיע עד המהר"ל.
- <sup>26</sup> שמו של התלמיד אשר הוליד בן לשמחה באורה בלתי צפוי זה היה שלומיאל. ראה: *Die Lebensalter der Jüdischen Literatur*, 376, מאת ליאפולד לעף (Löw), סוגרין, 1875. לעף (1811-1875) שמש כרב בסוגרין והשתתף ב"החלוקי". שור גם הדפיס מאמרים קצרים בכתב העת היהודי-גרמני. בן הנניח" שהופיע בסוגרין בעריכתו של לעף. ראה מאמרי הביבליוגרפי על שור, 27.
- <sup>27</sup> חוץ מזה הערתך בדבר שלומיאל נפלאה... לעף רק חמד לו לצון.
- <sup>28</sup> במאמרו של החכם הנכבד צונץ, שמות היהודים" לא נמצא השם הזה. (מאמרו של צונץ הופיע בליפסיה, 1837).

לבאלטימארע<sup>3</sup> שלחתי 6 חוברות החלוץ 1,4-8 inc. – כאשר רצית ואמרת, גם רשמתי מחירן העולה בתוספת הוצאות השליחה לסך 20.50 מאָרק, ולבבי נכון בטוח כי ישולם לי פר' אנ' 4 ליפסיה בעין יפה.

פיעלען דאָנק פיר איהרען אינטערעסאנטען בעריכט איבר דיא דארטיגען צושטענדען מאחינו ב"י דרעזעלבע פערשאפטע מיר איינע קלאַרע איינוויכט אין דיא טראַזלאַזען רעליגיעזען פערעהעלטיססע. פיעללייכט נעהמע איך פערנאלאסונג אלס נאכווארט למאמרי על הבריתא הידועה איינען וועקרוף אָן רבני ארצך צו ריכטען<sup>6</sup> להקהל ולעמוד על נפשותינו.

קאהלער איזט עבען אחר מן הגדולים שגדל הרב גייגר ז"ל דא סטעמפעלטע ער גייבויר צום ביבליאגראפן, הוואלאזאן צום ענטרעקער ביבליאנישער איברעסטע, דאָצי צום אויפפינדער דעם שבת שמעון אונד קאהלער צום ביבעלקרטיקער. פרייליך וינד זיינע אייגען ביבעלקרטישען פארלעזונגען אים סעמינאר פאן קיינעם גראסערן ווערטה. – לא הודעתני אם נענה לך ה' גרעץ בדבר קונטרס? במזכיר למש"ש פידע איך איינע רעכט סימפאטישע אנציגע מקונטרס. וואס מיך פאן דיעזעם גריעסערעמיגען קריטיקער העכליך איבראשאטע.<sup>8</sup> מה טיבה של החוברת שהוציא לאור בנו של הרב אדלער<sup>9</sup> בנוען יארק? – פאן דען געזאממעלטען שריפטען של הרב גייגר ז"ל יצא לאור כרך ה', הכולל מכתבים שונים גם טאנעבוך. דיא איך מיט אינטערעסע לעזע.<sup>10</sup> גם מאמרי גייגר בלה"ק<sup>11</sup> נאספו מה' קירכהיים ונרפסו בכרך מיוחד,<sup>12</sup> פאן וועלכעס מיר 2 עקס' מבנו של גייגר ומקירכהיים צוגעקאממען.<sup>13</sup> ויש את לבבי לשלוח לך עקס' א' במתנה לעת מצוא. –

איהרע בעמערקונג<sup>14</sup> כי אחרי שר"א<sup>15</sup> היה שונא עכ"ס<sup>16</sup> ור"י<sup>17</sup> היה מתון בנדון זה איך יתכן להחליט ולומר כי הראשון היה מקיל בקבלת גרים והאחרון מחמיר, פאנר יא בערייטס ערלעדיגונג<sup>18</sup> במאמרי שבידך כי הא בהא תליא, מצורף לזה דעותיו של ר"א לאססען זיך נור מכח השמועה ערקלעהרען.<sup>19</sup> אשר נגד אחריה, ואין לשפוט מהן על תכונת רוחו, וכי נשימהו לקשה לב יען לא רצה לשחרר עבדו? –

אנלאגענד איהר בערענקען<sup>20</sup> נדון הגימטריאות במאמר בלעם הרשע ותלמידיו ראיתי מראש אונד זוכטע דעמזעלבען במבוא למאמרי זה פארצובייגען.<sup>21</sup> ולא אכחר תחת לשוני כי מחכם שכמותך איבערראשטע עס מיך,<sup>22</sup> הלא שמת אל לב כי עצם המאמרים מספרי רז"ל שהבאתי רומזים באצבע כי קלעו לתלמידים אלו והגימטריאות הן רק כיהודה ועוד לקרא ור"ל.<sup>23</sup> – מצורף לזה וכי לא מצינו בשמו של משיח שיש מי שאמר מנחם שמו וי"א<sup>24</sup> צמח שמו, ומסיק כי לא פליגי יען חושבנא דרין כחושבנא דרין (ירוש' ברכות), אונד האט מאן ניכט נעטהיג בים צום מהר"ל העראבצושטיגען.<sup>25</sup>

ובדבר שלומיאל הלא ידעת כי דברי בדרך התול נאמרו, אמנם נפלאתי ממך כי כחבת שהרב לעף לא אמר כלל שבעל הקרנים בימי מהר"ם מרוטנברג היה שמו שלומיאל. הלא בפירוש כתב:<sup>26</sup> *der Name des Scholaren, der so unerwartet zu Vater freuden gelangte, war Schelumiël* (צד 53) איבריגענס איזט איהרע בעמערקונג בדבר שלומיאל טרעפענען. גם במרדכי נמצא שם התלמיד: 'צחק. לעף וואלטע עבען איינען וויין מאכען<sup>27</sup> והסיב את שמו לשלומיאל. במאמרו של החכם הנכבד צונץ: "דיע נאמען דער יודען" ווירד השם הזה ניכט אויפגעפיהרט.<sup>28</sup> –

היה ברכה ושלוש ושמיני עד מהרה במכתבך כי דבריך חביבים עלי ביותר.

מוקירך ומכבדך כערכך הרב



## מכתב ו'

Brody 16ten Juni '878

איש יקר ונכבד שלום וברכה!

תכלית ספרי הקטן הזה להודיעך כי באוני מכתביך השנים מיום 15 אפריל ומיום 20 מאי<sup>1</sup> שערכת אלי ואשמח עליהם. יום 12 ד"מ<sup>2</sup> שלחתי אליך ע"י<sup>3</sup> ה' זוסמאן בהמבורג עוד 4 עקס' חוברת 10 גם 4 עקס' חוברת 9 כמבוקשך. בין הכל שלחתי לך 13 חוברות 10 ר' חוברות 9. הרשות בידך לשלוח לי המחיר אין רייכסטהאלער כחפצך. ועולה מחיר חוברת 10 1.6 gr. ר"ט; חוברת ט' 1.22 gr. ר"ט. –

אחרי שלחי לך מכתבי הגדול יום 14 אפריל אדות הבריתא, נתחדשו אצלי קצת דברים, ריא אינדעס דאס געוואנגענע רעזולטאט ניכט בעריהרען.<sup>4</sup> והם שמורים אצלי עד בוא ספרך הגדול שהבטחתי נדון זה עם השגותיך והערותיך, ואז אציעם לפניך. – הרב אדלער נודע לי לשבח מפי מכתביו של הרב גייגר ז"ל. גם שלחתי עבורו ס' אשכול הכפר אז בנסעו לארצך. – כמה הרבה הרב גייגר ז"ל לספר בשבחו של קונטרס על ברכת יעקב מדר' קאהלער<sup>5</sup> ואחרי שזכיתי לראותו כי שלחו המחבר לי, ושמתי עיני בו נודע לי כי הפריז מאד על המדה, ומשפטך משפט צדק ואמת. כמדומני שנמצא מאמר ממנו בשותפות עם משכיל אחד על תרגום ד"ה,<sup>6</sup> במכתבו העתי של גייגר ז"ל שאיננו חסר קצת תועלת, אבל האריך יותר מדי. – תרגום הסורי על ה' מגילות שהוציא הרב היבש לאור לא ראיתי, גם הוא נודע לי לשבח, אף שממכתביו שקראתי במכתבי העת נראה קצת שהוא תוקע עצמו בהשערות יותר מהראוי. –

ושלום וברכה וחיים יוסיפו לך מן השמים כנפשך ונפש המוקירך כערךך הרב

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> המכתב של 15 אפריל איננו בעזבונו של פלזנשהל.

<sup>2</sup> דעס מונאטס, החודש הזה.

<sup>3</sup> על ידי.

<sup>4</sup> אשר אינם משנים את המסקנות אשר אליהם הגעתי.

<sup>5</sup> דר. קויפמן קוהלר, אחר כך פרופסור לתיאולוגיה יהודית בהיברו יוניון קולידז ובסוף ימיו

נשיא המוסד. ראה: *Encyclopedia Judaica* כרך י', 186, ו-*Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*,

VI, 428. שם הקונטרס הנוכח לעיל הוא *Der Segen Jacob's etc.* ברלין, 1867.

<sup>6</sup> דברי הימים. שם המאמר הוא "Das Targum zur Chronik" והוא הופיע ב-*Jüdische*

*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, VIII, (1870), 72-80, 135-163, 263-278.

הסופר שכתב את המאמר בשותפות עם קוהלר היה מ. רזוברג.

## מכתב ז'

Brody 17ten August '878

יה"ש אל הרב היקר ב"פ שלום וברכה!

ראשית כל הנני להודיעך כי באני ספרך היקר מיום 24 לחדשם שעבר<sup>2</sup> ומה שבתוכו אל ליפסויא על מחיר חוברות החלוץ ששלחתי לך עולה 75 מארק ולבבי יהמה לך תורה רבה על טרחך ועמלך.

## מכתב ה'

Brody 14 April '878

שלום וברכה!

שמחתי בבוא אלי מכתבך היקר כתוב יום 19 מערץ, 1 ולבבי הומה תודה לך על עמלך לחלק ולהפיץ מכתבי העת<sup>1</sup> בין חכמי ארצך ורביניה. אקוה כי ספרי האחרון מיום 5 פעבר כבר הנהו בידך גם 10 עקס' חוברת י' ששלחתי אליך דרך המבערג באמצעות האיש זוססמאן, אשר כפי מכתבו נודרו להריצן לידך בלי אחר. ההוצאות עלו  $3\frac{1}{2}$  מארק. ערך 1 דאללאר. אם יש להעלות המחיר כפי ערך, אם לא הברירה בידך. וכטוב בעיניך עשה. חוברת א' נדפסה שנית ובנקל לקנותה במחיר 1 פ. 2. חוברות ב' וג' נמכרו זה כביר ואינן ביד. פניתי ללבוש לקנותן אם נמצאו בכסף מלא – ועל כן אחרתי קצת להשיב לך מענה – ולשוא. ועוד ידי נטויה לדרוש את המס' בקראקווא, והלואי שאשיגו, כי מאד נכספתי להועיל בהיות לאל די, הלא ידעת כי יותר משהעגל רוצה לינן כו'. חוברות ד'-י' הנמצאות אצלי לא יקר מחירן, כי אין מגמתי ומטיתי להשתכר ואיני צריך לכך תל, 3 כי כל יעשי וכל חפצי להועיל לאחרים כפי יכולתי.

חוברת ד' מחירה 1,10 פ. צירקא 1/2 דאללאר

חוברת ה' מחירה 1,10 פ. צירקא 1/2 דאללאר

חוברת ו' מחירה 1,10 פ. צירקא 1/2 דאללאר

חוברת ז' מחירה 2,20 פ. צירקא

חוברת ח' מחירה 2,20 פ. צירקא

חוברת ט' מחירה 3,20 פ. צירקא שתי מחלקות גם נספח

חוברת י' מחירה 2,20 פ. צירקא

הלא ידעת כי כל המאמרים הבאים במכתבי העת<sup>1</sup> שלמים באו לא מקוטעים ואין חוברת א' תלויה בחברתה, מלבד מאמר: "ר." יצחק אלבלג" אשר מקומו בחוברות ד'-י', העומדות למכור.

ולאשר לא אדע אם יחפצו הקונים במחברות שישנן ביד בלבד, לא אשלחן עד אשר תכתוב לי בטובך, ואז הנני לשלוח לך עוד 3 עקס' י' גם 1 עקס' ט' כחפצך. – הרב ש. אדלר ווירד וואהל רב בהאנהענעס געוועזען זיין, 4 אשר כתב לי הרב גייגר ז"ל בשבחו, גם קניתי עבורו ס' אשכול הכפר. ועתה אבוא להשיב לדרבך המוחכמים בדבר הבריתא שאנו דנין עליה.<sup>5</sup>

פריירליכען דאנק פיר דאס איבערמיטטעלטע צייטונגסבלאטט דאס איך מיט פיעלעם אינטערעסעסע געלעזען בפרט מאמרך הנחמד. היבש ווירד וואהל בפראג געווירקט האבען וקאהלער הוא מחבר הקונטרס על ברכת יעקב.

<sup>1</sup> מכתבו זה של פלונטהל נכתב בגרמנית ודן בשאלת מילה לגר.

<sup>2</sup> פלורין.

<sup>3</sup> תורה לאל.

<sup>4</sup> "היה כפי הנראה הרב בהאנהענעס". שור טעה. ש. אדלר לא היה רב בהאנהענעס (שווצריה) אלא באלצייא אשר במדינת רהינהעסען. בתשובתו למכתב זה מעמידו פלונטהל על טעותו. פרטים על ש. אדלר אפשר למצוא ב"Jewish Encyclopedia", כרך א', 199.

<sup>5</sup> שאר המכתב נדפס ב"החלוץ" י"א 68–74. בהערה שהוסיף פלונטהל להעתקה שלח ליבוביץ כתוב: המכתב הארוך הזה אשר החילתי להעתיק פה נתפרסם על ידי הכותב יה"ש ב"החלוץ" י"א דף 68 והביאם (כך) כמעט מלה במלה בלי שנוי כלל ולכן למותר יהיה להדפיס... .

<sup>6</sup> תורה רבה עבור גליונות כתבי העת שהעברת אלי, קראתי אותם בעיני רב ובפרט מאמרך הנחמד. היבש היה כפי הנראה פעיל בפראג.

הנני רואה ממאמרך כי אין רבני דורך וארצך מוכשרים, איש לבצעו מקצהו... הודיעני נא מה טיבם של ליליענטהאל<sup>3</sup> והיבש? והרב שפיץ אשר ערך המכתב אליך הכי הוא יום טוב שפיץ<sup>4</sup> שנמצאו מאמרים לו בבכורי העתים? – כפי שכתב אלי בנו של ה' שד"ל ז"ל, הרב בפילארעלפוא<sup>5</sup> עוסק כעת לתרגם תולדות שד"ל ולהכניס לדפוס. מי יודע אם לא יסכל האיטליאני הזה לתרגם גם הספור משד"ל שראה קרי ביוה"כ<sup>6</sup> וכדומה דברי הבלים ויהי לצחוק ולהחול –

חלילה לי לבוא במשפט עמך על העבר כי חדלת לכתוב לי ימים רבים אחרי שתשובתי על ספרך שהלך לאבוד נשארה מעל, ולא עלה הרעיון על לבך אולי נאבד בדרך, אבל אבקשך שלא תוסיף לעשות כן להבא, ודע כי דבריך חביבים עלי ובשמחה אישיב לך לכשאקבל מכתב ממך. – אם יש את נפשך לכתוב לי ברחבה על מצב אחינו הרוחני והמדעי בארצך, אקבל דבריך בסבר פנים יפות ואחזיק לך תודה. –

למרות עמלי ויגיעי לא עלה בידי להריץ לידך חוברות החלוץ י' דירעקט ע"י בי דואר, והייתי מוכרח לשלחן מכאן להמבורג ליד איש שמו מ. זוסמאן. והוא יריצן לידך מיד כבואן לידו. <sup>10</sup> עקס' שלחתי ומחיר כל א' הוא 842,20 – צירקא 1 ראללאר – ואם תמצא ראוי ונכון לצרף גם ערך ההוצאות למחיר החוברת כטוב בעיניך עשה. ואנכי הנני מודה לך על כי נענית לי לטפל במכירתך, זה לי לאות כי יקרו דברי בעיניך. –

אל נא תאחר להשיב לי מענה, ודע נאמנה כי יקרת בעיני גם נכבדת

### מוקירך ומכבדך כערכך הרב

י-ה-ש

איך בעדויערע זעהר<sup>1</sup> כי אין בידך תלמודא דבני מערבא, הנני עוסק כעת לסדר מאמר על הירוש' והבבלי אשר כפי מחשבתי יקעקע כל בירת הבבלי ערה ערה עד היסוד בו. המאמר הזה מיועד לבוא בחוברת י"א.<sup>10</sup> כמעט כל המאמרים שיבואו בה כבר מסודרים ועומדים. –

<sup>1</sup> שור ממשיך בדבריו על "מילה לנר". ראה מכתב ג'.

<sup>2</sup> מהדורה א' (1852), 49. המובאה היא מקוטעת.

<sup>3</sup> מאקס ליליענטהאל (1882–1815). הסופר והמשכיל הידוע ששמש כדרשן וכמנהל בית הספר היהודי ברינה ושתף פעולה עם הממשלה הרוסית עד ששוכנע שהמשטר הצאריסטי זומם להטמיע את יהדות רוסיה. כשברח מרוסיה בלה כמה שנים בניו יורק ולבסוף השתקע בסינסנטי וכהן שם כרב ריפורמי ראה: דובנוב: דברי ימי ישראל בדורות האחרונים (ברלין, תרפ"ד), כרך ב', 125–128.

<sup>4</sup> שור התכוון ליום טוב שפיץ, משכיל וסופר מביהם. כשכתב שור את מכתבו כבר מת. פלזנהל התכוון למוריץ שפיץ, יליד הונגריה (1848–1921) שכהן בתור רב ריפורמי בסט. לואיס. ראה: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, כרך XI, 254.

<sup>5</sup> שבתי מורייאס (1823–1897) יליד ליבורנו, רב בפילדלפיה, אחד מיסדי בית המדרש לרבנים הקונסרבטיבי בניו יורק. ראה: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, כרך VIII, 679–681.

<sup>6</sup> יום הכפורים.

<sup>7</sup> על ידי.

<sup>8</sup> 2.20 פלורין.

<sup>9</sup> אני מצטער מאד.

<sup>10</sup> "החלוץ" י"א, 1–7.

# בירושלמי.

6 בנוסח.

7 במסכה.

8 *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, VIII, 25.9 מאמצע המאה השניה כמעט שאין אנו שומעים על התגירויות כנון אלה. ראה: *Zur Proselytenfrage*.

18 המובאה איננה מדויקת.

10 בשולי המכתב מעיר פלונטהל: „אנכי רהישא שנה הכותב בכתבו יבמות מ'ז ע' א' גרי מחווא

מוזכרים במסכת קדושין ע'ג ע' א'.

11 ראה מכתב ז', הערה 26.

12 כנראה העתקה של המאמר „תשובה מאונס למבקר ברצון" שהופיע באנרנאנג (נספח) ל„החלוץ”

IX, I-13.

13 תורה לאל.

14 דורש שלומך.

## מכתב ד'

Herrn Dr. B. Felsenthal

Chicago

Brody 25ten März '878

הגני נותן לך את בריתי שלום וברכה!

שמחתי בבוא אלי ספרך היקר כתוב יום 26 לחדשם שעבר, ואחר עד היום להשיב לך מאפס פנאי וגם כיום הזה לא נפנית עדין, ואין בידי עתותי ומלפניך אבקש כי תסלח לי אם אישיך בקצרה.

התענגתי בקראי שורותיך האחרונות בקצה ספרך על דבר נו' הירו':<sup>1</sup> רי"א אף הטבילה מעכבת" כי סוף סוף אין אנחנו משועבדים לבעלי התלמוד, והחובה מוטלת על חכמי ורבני הדור לתקן תקנות נאותות כפי רוח המקום והזמן מבלי שים לב לגזרות שגורו התלמודים לשעתם. הלא זהו הדבר שדברתי בחוברת הראשונה מהחלוץ<sup>2</sup> אל מצדיקי הרבים בדורנו: „כל עוד אשר לא תחרצו משפטכם על המאמר המתפשט כי מיסדי התלמוד רוח אלהים דבר בס' ודבריהם דברי אלהים חיים, ותאמרו בפה מלא כי הם אנשים כערבנו, וכשם שהיתה הרשות בידם לשנות ולבטל ולתקן תקנות כפי צורך מקומם ושעתם, כך הרשות נתונה לחכמי כל דור ודור לשנות ולבטל ולתקן תקנות נאותות למקומם ושעתם; וכל עוד אשר לא תטו מן הדרך שדרכו בו עד היום הבאים לשנות או לבטל איזה דבר, לעמול ולבקש בחורין ובסדקין עור וסער במאמר א' מן התלמוד, אשר אז סכלה עצתם כרגע בהתקבץ עליהם מלא רבנים להביא מאמרים אחרים בהפוכו: נכול תבולו גם אתם. ולא תוכלו לעמוד בקום עליכם הדבקים בנושן האוחזים מעשה אבותיהם בידיהם!" וכל ישעי וכל חפצי בהערת ע' נו' הירוש' רק למטרה זו, אשר אליה קלעתי, והנה כונת מעצמך לדעתי זו ואשמך.

יש את נפשי להדרש למבוקשך ולעורר את לבות הקוראים על מאמרך ותוכן ענינו. על איזה דרך ואופן לא ידעתי עוד. להרחיב הרבור בענין זה בבקורת מיוחדת אין הזמן גרמא, כי אין אחינו בארצות איראפא מוכשרים לכך, אבל בהערה עלי לעורר את רוח הנבונים כאמור. לא אכחד ממך כי לדעתי על רבני ארצך וחכמיו החוב הזה מוטל, כי אורא דאמעריקא מחכים והלבבות פתוחים לרוחה לקבל תקנות נאותות, ולדאבון נפשי

על ידו אמונת ישו, והוא שעמד לו לבצע את זממו, כאשר העירותי במאמרי: „בלעם הרשע ותלמידיו“ (החלוץ חוברת י').<sup>3</sup> גם העירותי על ברייתא מחודרת דספרא שרמוזה על פעולתו של פוילוס והטילה קוצים בעיניו.

ולמען הראותך כי קראתי את מאמרך בשים לב אעירך כי לפי מסקנת הבבלי (יבמות מ"ו) על הבריתא דגר שמל ולא טבל כו' בטבל ולא מל ר"א ור"י לא פליגי דמנהי כי פליגי במל ולא טבל ע"ש<sup>4</sup> אולם ברייתא זו משובשת בבבלי שם והנוסח המתוקן והראשי הוא בירוש':<sup>5</sup> גר שמל ולא טבל ולא מל הכל הולך אחר המילה דברי ר"א, רי"א אף הטבילה מעכבת (קדושין פ"ג ה"ד) ואיתא לברייתא זו בנוי<sup>6</sup> המתוקן הזה גם במס' גרים (פ"א) אך בשבוש קל כאשר העיר המפרש שם. גם הרב גייגר ז"ל (מכתבו העתי ח')<sup>8</sup> לא הרגיש שברייתא זו שבבבלי משובשת. ודבריו גם דברייך צריכין תקון.

גם אעירך על מאמרם: המתנייר לשם אהבת איש מפני אשה ואשה מפני איש וכן גרי שלחן מלכים וכן גרי אריות וכן גרי מרדכי ואסתר אין מקבלין אותן, רב אמר הלכה גרים הן ואין דוחין אותן כדרך שדוחין את הגרים (כלומר הגוים הבאים להתגייר) תחלה, אבל מקבלין אותן וצריכין קירוב פנים שמא גיירו לשם (ירוש' קדושין רפ"ד)

ואמרת: Seit der Mitte des 2ten Jahrh. hören wir nur äusserst,<sup>9</sup> selten von solchen Uebertritten וזה אינו מדוקדק כי בימי ר' זירא היו גרים רבים במחוא (בבלי יבמות מ"ז)<sup>10</sup> ואם זכרוני לא ישעני כבר העיר על זה ועל כיוצא בזה הרב לעף ז"ל<sup>11</sup> בבן חנניה. – ורי בזה כי לא לבקר ולהשיג באתי כי אם להראותך כי חביבים עלי דבריך.

הבאך ספרי שערכתי אליך יום 12 אקטאבר 875? מסופקני מאד אם באך, כי אלו היה בא לירך או לא חדלת להורות לי מדרך ארץ וגמסו על „תשובתי לבקורת ה' קירכהיים“<sup>12</sup> ששלחתי לך למנה כהבטחתי שהבטחתך.

כבר הזכרתי למעלה חוברת העשירית מהחלוץ שיצאה לאור זה קצת ירחים, וכעת הנני עוסק לסדר חוברת ה"א.

אם יש לאל לירך לחלק בין מיודעך איזו עקס' מחוברת העשירית אחזיק לך טיבותא כי הוצאות הרפוס רבו למעלה ראש, אבל חלילה לי להעמיס עליך לחלקם ולמכרם שלא בטובתם של הקונים, כי תל"ס<sup>13</sup> אינני צריך לכך. – והיה אם תפקוד עלי לשלוח לך הנני למלאות פקודתך, אך בתנאי שתודיעני על איזו דרך אשלח כדי שיבואו הספרים לירך בטח. כי לשלוח דירעקט מהכא להתם אי אפשרי כאשר תבין מעצמך ממעשה שהיה בספרי משנת 875 הנ"ל והרצוף בו. – גם השליחה באמצעות האיש פראנק בברסלויא היא בחזקת סכנה. כי האיש הזה אינו ראוי לסמוך עליו אף בשעת הרחק. וכבר נכותי בגזלתו. –

ושלום וברכה וחיים יוסיפו לך ולביתך מן השמים כנפשך ונפש מוקירך דו"ש<sup>14</sup>

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> מכתב זה בא כתשובה למכתב ששלח פלוזטהל אחרי הפסקה של שלש שנים. מכתבו האחרון של

שור נכתב 12 אקטאבר, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Proselytenfrage im Judenthum, שיקאנו, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> 32-46.

<sup>4</sup> עיין שם.

מאכטע איבער<sup>6</sup> כתובות עבריות חרותות על אבנים שנמצאו שם בבטן האדמה. מה היה בסופה של מציאה זו?

יחד עם ספרך היקר הנ"ל באני גם החלק הב' דער נאכגעלאסענען שריפטען מהרב גייגר ז"ל, ובתוכם גם: „ליטעראטורבריעפע אויס דעם יאהרע 853" <sup>6</sup> דיא אן מיך געריכטעט ווארען,<sup>7</sup> אבל נשתנו הרבה אם מידי המחבר ואם מידי המוציא לאור לא ידעתי. איך שטאנד מיט איהם ערך לה' שנה אין פריינדשאפטליכער קארעספאנדענץ,<sup>8</sup> ועת יצא לאור חבורו הגדול „אורשריפט" חרצתי את משפטי בלי משוא פנים אף אם גליתי רק טפח וכסיתי טפחים (החלוץ ד')<sup>9</sup> וגם אח"כ<sup>10</sup> חיותי דעי כי הפריז בשטתו על המדה הנאותה (חוברת ז'), ולדאבון נפשי אטם את אזנו משמוע, ער פערראנקטע זיך אימער מעהר בשטתו מהלכה צדוקית – איינע העכסט אבענטייערליכע שטה<sup>11</sup> – ולא נתעצל לעייל פילא בקופא דמחטא ע. צ. <sup>12</sup> ודי בזה לחכימא. היה ברכה ושלוש כנפשו ונפש מוקירך

י-ה-ש

Osias H. Schorr

<sup>1</sup> „השחר", שנה ה' (1874), 109-104.

<sup>2</sup> אדולף היבש (Hübsch) (1884-1830). יליד הונגריה. רב בניו יורק ששימש בפראג בשנת 1861. ראה: *Jewish Encyclopedia* כרך ו', צד 486-487.

<sup>3</sup> הייתי מעונין.

<sup>4</sup> עוד יעבור זמן רב.

<sup>5</sup> האינך האיש אשר הודיע לרב גייגר זה איזו שנים על אודות...

<sup>6</sup> *Nachgelassene Schriften*, II, ברלין, 1875.

<sup>7</sup> „אשר נכתבו אלי", וראה כרך ב', 278-369. מכתבים אלה נכתבו לשור בשנת 1853. וראה

את דבריו של לודוויג גייגר במבוא לאותו כרך, צד v.

<sup>8</sup> עמדתי עמו בחליפת מכתבים ידידותית.

<sup>9</sup> בקורת ס' האורשריפט של הרב החכם ר' אברהם גייגר, „החלוץ" ד', 70-83.

<sup>10</sup> אחר כך.

<sup>11</sup> הוא התעקש יותר ויותר בשטתו מהלכה צדוקית — שיטה אבנטיוריסטית בהחלט.

<sup>12</sup> עט צטרא, לטינית: et cetera.

## מכתב ג'

Brody 5ten febr. 878<sup>1</sup>

Herrn Dr. B. Felsenthal

Chicago

שלום וברכה!

אתמול באני מאמרך הנחמד Zur Proselytenfrage<sup>2</sup> ואתענג בקראי בו, אף שלא אכתד ממך כי חרשות לא השמעתי, אבל דברייך הם דברים בעתם, דברי חן ושכל טוב, דברים נמרצים ובנחת נשמעים. והלואי שיעשו הרושם המקווה ולא ישובו ריקם. הרעיון העקרי להקל עול המצות בכלל ובפרט מצות מילה כדי להכניס גרים תחת כנפי אמונת האחדות הגמורה והמוחלטת, הוא הוא שהניע את לב פוילוס לשעתו להפיץ



הנני עוסק עתה) בסרור המאמרים המיועדים לבוא בחוברת העשירית.  
היה ברכה ושלום ודע כי בכל עת יהיו ספרך חביבים עלי, אני אני

מוקירך כערך הרב

י-ה-ש

<sup>1</sup> מכתב זה הוא הראשון בצרור המכתבים; מכתבו של פלונטהל איננו.

<sup>2</sup> ראשי תבות: פערנאנענען מונאטס; גרמנית: *vergangenen Monats*, החדש שעבר.

<sup>3</sup> מאמרו של יה"ש על השמות הופיע ב"החלוץ", ט', חלק א', 83-84.

<sup>4</sup> שור דן פה בשאלת שמות אנשים בספרי רז"ל. ראה: "החלוץ", שם.

<sup>5</sup> ראשי תבות: וכך כתבתי.

<sup>6</sup> שם, 71.

<sup>7</sup> ראשי תבות: כהן גדול.

<sup>8</sup> רפאל קירכהיים (1889-1804), רב גרמני משכיל וסופר עברי. קירכהיים היה בר-פלונטה של שור לעתים קרובות. ראה: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, כרך י', צד 10. וראה מבוא הירושלמי, ס"ה, ע"א.

<sup>9</sup> גרמנית: *beliebt*, אהוב, נעים. המובן המדויק של המלה היוונית הוא: מקובל על הבריות.

<sup>10</sup> ב"החלוץ".

<sup>11</sup> בנספח לחוברת ט' של "החלוץ".

<sup>12</sup> ראשי תבות: לעת עתה.

## מכתב ב'

Herrn Dr. B. Felsenthal

Chicago Illinois

Brody 12tn 8ber [October] 875

יצו ה' אתך איש יקר! ואת ביתך החיים והשלום!

שמחתי בבוא אלי ספרך היקר מיום כ' אלול שנה שעברה כתוב עברית צחה וחמה  
ואמהר לקיים הבטחתי ולשלוח לך תשובתי לבקורתו של ה' קירכהיים, לאות ולראיה  
כי חביבים עלי דברי דודיך, וכי חפצתי קרבך.

בקורת קירכהיים נתפרסמה במכתב עתי: "השחר"<sup>1</sup> היוצא לאור בעיר ווינא, אלמלא  
שלחה המבקר לידי לא היתה נודעת לי כלל, כי אין מדרכי לבלות זמני בקריאת מכתב  
עתי בעת שאין דעתי נוחה הימנו.

כמרומני כי ה' היבש<sup>2</sup> אשר היה מגיד מישרים בעיר פראג הנהו כעת בארצך. הודיעני  
נא אם כך הוא באמת ואם בברית ידידות עמו. עם ווערע פיר מיך פאן אייניגעם  
אינטערעסעס<sup>3</sup> לשמוע משפטו על המאמר השני: דרך רז"ל לדרוש כו', כי הוא האיש  
אשר נגע בקצה הענין הזה באחר מעלים העתים.

עם דירפטע נאך גערויסע צייט וועהרען<sup>4</sup> עד שתצא לאור החוברת העשירית מן  
החלוץ, כי משא כל העבודה עלי, ואין איש אתי אף להעתיק המאמרים בכתב מיושר  
לצורך ההרפסה.

אם זכרוני לא יטעני ווארען זיא עם דער זה איזו שנים להרב גיגר ז"ל מיטטהיילונג

## מכתב א'

Herrn B. Felsenthal Prediger

in Chicago

Brody 1ten Sept. '875<sup>1</sup>

מרחוק אקרא לשלום לך איש יקר רוח וחכם לבב! היו לי דבריק היקרים עם ספרך כתוב יום 11 פ"מ<sup>2</sup> למספרם לעונג ולנחת רוח, והנני מחזיק לך תודה רבה עליהם ועל כתבך המחוכמים אשר היה את לבבך הטוב לכבדני בס. אמנם כן לא יען הרבית לספר בשבח כתבי התענגתי כי אם בראותי כי גם בארץ רחוקה כארצך נמצאו אצילי אחינו יחיד סגולה אשר יקרישו עתותם להנות בספרי חכמינו ולחקור בס בהשכל ודעת כמוך איש חמדות! חזק ואמץ ויהי אלהים עמך ותאסוף חכמה ותושיה כנפשך שבעך ותפין מעינותיך חוצה ובכל אשר תפנה תשכיל ותצלח.

ועתה אשיב בקצרה על הערותיך בדבר השמות<sup>3</sup> ואך למותר אחשבה לומר לך כי אף אם יתבטלו קצת פרטים אין זה לא מעלה ולא מוריד כאשר שניתי ושלשתי איזו פעמים. — ברעתי אני עומד<sup>4</sup> כי חנניה (בר שילה) אלעזר (בן חנן) הם רק כנוים, ואולי לא רצו לפרסם שמות העצמיים יען הם נזכרים לגנאי כאשר ראינו גם במשפחה שקרבה בן ציון בורוע, והשכילו להשתמש במלות 'וניות הנראות בהשקפה ראשונה כשמות עצמיים, מבלי שום לב למה שנמצאו בכתבי הקדש. וכ"כ<sup>5</sup> גם פנחס<sup>6</sup> (71) הוא כנוי התולי, כשם שכל המאמר התולי ודאי. בהנוגע לשם ישמעאל לא אמרתי כלל שהוא כנוי רק שבכונה להתל בו סרסו אותיות שמו וכנוהו אלשמע, וזה מסתבר. על יששכר בפירוש אמרתי כי הדבר מוטל בספק אם נמצא כה"ג<sup>7</sup> בעל השם הזה ועליו יסדו רמזיהם או אם הוא שם בריו לתלות בו רמזיהם ההתוליים. — אמנם בהממונים שהיו במקדש (אלעזר יוחנן בן פנחס, פנחס המלביש, מתאי בן שמואל) יש לשפוט מחבריהם הנזכרים עמהם יחד במשנה שהם ודאי כנוים ותארים על משמרותם ושרותם, שגם אלו אינם כנוים גרידא פיטרוס אף לו יהי ברבריק שהיין Petrus ברור אצלי כי עליו יסדו מאמרם שהיה להוט אחר התורה בהכניסם בו המובן = *φίλος*. — אריסטון באורו של הרב פראנקל ז"ל נודע לי מפי כתבו של ה' קירכהיים<sup>8</sup> (ס' מבוא הירושלמי לא נמצא ביד) ואינו נראה בעיני, וכבר חותי דעתי שהוא = *ἀρεστός* (בעליעבט)<sup>9</sup> בנגוד לכנוי אטיטס (חוברת ט' חלק ב' צד 75) והעד כנויו השני: „בן אנטימס" שהעירתי עליו שם. — נתאי הארבל (ראה אנהאג צד 12).<sup>11</sup> חסידא כרבריק כבר העיר קירכהיים. ודי בזה לע"ע<sup>12</sup> ואולי אשוב לדבר בענין זה בחוברת העשירית.

הודיעני נא אם נמצא בירך הנספח לחוברת ט', הכולל תשובה לבקורת קירכהיים ועוד קצת ענינים, ואם אין הנני הנני לשלחו לך לאות ולעד כי יקרת בעיני. ברבר הרב פראנקל ז"ל הלא על דא אני דן אתו על אשר נגרר אחר הקודמים לו בלי בקור ובלי חקירה נאותה. מצורף לזה רוח גאה וגאון המרחפת על פני ספרו דרכי המשנה היא עוררה אותי לבוא במשפט עמו, ואף אם אולי הפרותי על המדה במעט אין בכך כלום הלא גלוי וידוע כי במדה שאדם מורד מורדין לו. —

ידידותם. בהקדמה למאמרו „מילה לגר“ (החלוץ י"א, 67), שנכתב ראשונה כמכתב פרטי לפלונטהל, אומר שור: „... הרב פעלזענטהאל איז יקר מאלף נאמן רוח אוהב עמו ואמונתו אהבה שאינה תלויה בדבר וכו'“. ואמנם מצרור מכתבים זה מתברר כמה חבב שור את „תלמידו“ האמריקני.

למכתבים האלה יש כפי שהזכרתי ערך ביוגרפי וגם ערך מחקרי. מהם לומדים אנו פרטים נוספים על יחסו של שור לגייגר (מכתבים ב', ז', ח', וט"ו), זכריה פרנקל (מכתב א'), שד"ל (מכתבים ב' וט"ו), צונץ (מכתב ט"ו), מאיר כהן ביסטריץ (מכתב כ'), פרופ' דירנבורג (מכתב כ"א), צבי גרין (מכתב כ"א) ואלכסנדר קוהט (מכתב כ"א). מענינים דבריו על הקרע שנתגלה בינו לבין שד"ל אחרי הופעת „החלוץ“, ובמיוחד יחסו של שור המבוגר לרבו הראשון בחכמת ישראל (מכתב ט"ו). הוא גם גלה התענינות רבה בהתפתחות יהדות אמריקה וביחוד בורם הריפורמי אשר אליו השתייך פלונטהל (מכתבים ב', ו', ז', ח', י"ב, י"ד וכ"א). הוא ממשיך בדרישתו לתיקונים בדת (מכתבים ד', י"א, י"ב וי"ד) ומתקיף את מחזיקי הדת בלמברג (מכתבים י"ב–י"ג). מאידך מגנה הוא את קיצוניותם של כמה רבנים מתבוללים באמריקה וביחוד את הצעותיהם להחליף את השבת ביום א', לבטל מילה וכיצוא בהן (מכתב י"ד). כלפי חכמי הדור הצעירים (מכתב י"ח) וכלפי העתונות העברית של התקופה הוא מראה יחס שלילי ולגלגני (מכתב ט"ו).

פרטים אישיים לומדים אנו מכמה מכתבים. מקור נוסף לקביעת תאריך לידתו של שור בשנת 1818 (ולא 1814 כפי שחשבוהו עד לפני כמה שנים) הם מכתבים ט"ז וי"ז משנת 1887 (ראה הערה 2 למכתב ט"ז). במכתב י"א כותב שור בפירוש שהוא מחברם של רשפי א"ש שהופיעו ב„העברי“ הברודאי. עובדה זו היא אמנם ידועה, אבל כאן מעיד שור עצמו על אמיתותה. ממכתב הי"ב אפשר להסיק שלתקופה ידועה השתתף שור בעריכת „העברי“. אישיותו של שור מתגלית בחיבתו לפלונטהל, בבוכהלטריה המפורטת והקפדנית שלו בכמה מכתבים בנוגע לחתימות על „החלוץ“ (פלונטהל הפיץ את „החלוץ“ באמריקה). מאידך הוא אומר: „... אבל חלילה לך להעמיס עליך לחלקם ולמכרם שלא בטובתם של הקונים, כי תודה לאל אין אני צריך לכך“ (מכתב ג'). בפנייתו אל פלונטהל בבקשה למצוא ברודאי אחד שהשאיר את אשתו עגונה מתגלה הוא כאדם בעל שאר רוח (מכתב י"א). רק במכתבו האחרון (כ"א) מתאונן שור על זקנותו וברידותו.

ערך מחקרי יש לדבריו על שמות החכמים בתלמוד (מכתבים א' וז'), מילה לגר (מכתבים ב'–ה', ז', וי"ז), ממחרת השבת (מכתב י'), יצחק ישראלי (מכתב י') ולהסברתו על המלים אפוטריקי (מכתבים י"ט–כ') ושלומיאל (מכתב ז').

למכתבים הוספתי הערות במקומות שנצרכו. את המשפטים הגרמניים תרגמתי תרגום חפשי. מקוה אני בעתיד הקרוב להוציא מוגרפיה מקיפה על שור ובה אדון ביתר פירוט גם על המכתבים האלה.

ובסוף דברי מביע אני את תודתי העמוקה לתלמידי מר שמעון מזלן שטרח בהעתקת הכתבייך ובהגהת הגליונות ולידירי רבי תיאודור ווינר שעזר לי בתרגום הקטעים הגרמניים שבמכתבים.

# מכתבי יהושע העשיל שור לברוך פלונטשל

עזרא שפייזהנדלר

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion · Cincinnati

מנחת תורה למורי ולרבי הפרופ' שמואל ש. כהן.

כשעסקתי לפני שנה בבליוגרפיה של כתבי יהושע העשיל שור (אשר הופיעה ב־*Studies in Booklore and Bibliography*, II, 20–36), גלה לי הדר' יהושע בלאך, ספרן המחלקה העברית של הספרייה המרכזית של ערית ניוירוק כי בין כתבי היד הנמצאים במחלקתו ישנו צרור מכתבים ששלח שור לידידו ברוך פלונטשל, רב ריפורמי שכהן בשיקאגו בסוף המאה האחרונה. כשברקתי את המכתבים נוכחתי שבעצם אינם אלא העתקות בכתב ידו של פלונטשל שנתגלגלו לספרייה הנ"ל כחלק מעזבונו של החוקר נחמיה שמואל ליבוביץ (1862–1939). העתקות אלו נשלחו לליבוביץ לאחר שפנה אל פלונטשל בבקשה שיעתיק את מכתבי שור אליו מפני שהיה ברעתו להשתמש בהם לשם כתיבת ביוגרפיה של שור. פלונטשל נענה לבקשה זו, אבל לא נסתייע הרבר והביוגרפיה לא נכתבה. על פי הצעתו הטובה של ידידי רבי יצחק קיוב ברקתי את עזבונו פלונטשל אשר בארכיון של החברה להסטוריה של יהדות אמריקה (American Jewish Historical Society) ושם הצלחתי למצוא את המכתבים המקוריים בכתב ידו של שור. צרור המכתבים הזה כולל בסך הכל שלשים מכתבים, מהם עשרים ושלושה שנשלחו משור לפלונטשל ושמונה מפלונטשל לשור. ברשותה האדיבה של החברה וספרן הארכיון שלה, הרב י. מאיר, אני מביא בזה לדפוס את כל מכתבי שור חוץ משני מכתבים קטנים שאין להם שום ערך היסטורי.

חליפת מכתבים זו התחילה ב־1 לספטמבר, 1875, ונמשכה בהפסקים עד ל־8 לילול, 1890. מתוכה לומדים אנו כמה פרטים מענינים על שנותיו האחרונות של בעל "החלוץ", ועל יחסו לבעיות הזמן. הרב ברוך פלונטשל שאליו נכתבו המכתבים האלה היה כפי הנראה ידידו האמריקני היחיד של שור (ראה מכתב כ'). הוא נולד במונטווילר, גרמניה, ושם נתחנך חנוך מסורתי. הוא השתלם בבית המדרש למורים היהודי בקיסרלאוטרן הסמוכה לעיירתו ואחר כך שמש כמורה בעיר זו. ב־1854 היגר לאמריקה והתישב לאחר ארבע שנים בשיקאגו ובה כהן כרב ריפורמי. פלונטשל היה אחר ממסירי התנועה הריפורמית בארה"ב ונמנה על האגף המתון שלה. הוא הושפע בהרבה משור וגם הפיץ את "החלוץ" בין מספר לא קטן של רבנים ריפורמים באמריקה. פלונטשל, שהיה תלמיד חכם יהודי במלואו מובן המלה, הרפים מאמרים פופולריים ומדעיים בעברית, גרמנית ואנגלית. כשהגיעו ההדים הראשונים של הציונות לאמריקה, נמנה פלונטשל בין ראשוני התנועה. פרטים על חייו נמצאים בספרה של בתו אמה פלונטשל: *Bernhard Felsenthal, Teacher in Israel*.

את חליפת המכתבים עם שור פתח פלונטשל במכתב שלא הגיע לידינו. מתשובתו של שור אפשר להבין כי פנה אליו בכמה שאלות שנבעו מתוך קריאת המאמר "שמות אנשים בספרי חז"ל" (החלוץ ט', 1–83). שור ענה לו בחבה רבה וברבות השנים נתהדרק

INDEX TO THE  
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUALS

VOLUMES I TO XXVII

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL

- The Lost "Confession" of Samuel (I — 1924).  
Pico Della Mirandola (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

ALBRIGHT, W. F.

- Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm 68) (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

APTOWITZER, V.

- Asenath, the Wife of Joseph — a Haggadic, Literary Historical Study (I — 1924).  
The Rewarding and Punishing of Animals and Inanimate Things According to the Aggadic View of the World (III — 1926).  
Spuren des Matriarchats im Juedischen Schrifttum (IV — 1927).  
Spuren des Matriarchats im Juedischen Schrifttum — Schluss und Nachträge (V — 1928).  
Arabisch-Juedische Schoepfungstheorien (VI — 1929).  
Untersuchung zur Gaonäischen Literatur (VIII-IX — 1931-1932).

ASHTOR-STRAUSS, E.

- Saladin and the Jews (XXVII — 1956).

ATLAS, SAMUEL

- להתפתחות הסוגיא וההלכה (XVII — 1942-43).  
Solomon Maimon's Treatment of the Problem of Antinomies and its Relation to Maimonides (XXI — 1948).  
Maimon and Maimonides (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).  
להתהוות הסוגיא (XXIV — 1952-1953).  
Moses in the Philosophy of Maimonides, Spinoza, and Solomon Maimon (XXV — 1954).  
הרצון הציבורי בתחוקה התלמודית (XXVI — 1955).  
השגות שהשיג הרב ר' משה הכהן מלוניל על ספרי רבנו משה ז"ל (XXVII — 1956).

BAECK, LEO

- Judaism in the Church (II — 1925).  
Haggadah and Christian Doctrine (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

BAMBERGER, BERNARD

- Fear and Love of God in the Old Testament (VI — 1929).  
A Messianic Document in the Seventh Century (XV — 1940).

## INDEX

Revelations of Torah after Sinai (XVI — 1941).

Formstecher's History of Judaism (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### BAUMGARTNER, WALTER

Zur Mandäerfrage (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### BENAJANU, MEIR

לתולדות בתי המדרש בירושלים במאה הי"ז (XXI — 1948).

### BERNSTEIN, SIMON

The Letters of Rabbi Mahalalel Halelujah of Ancona (VII — 1930).

*Luhot Abanim*, Part II (X — 1935).

שרידי שירה מ. חקופת הזהב" (XVI — 1941).

דיואן שיני הקדש של שלמה בן משלם דאפי"רא (XIX—1945-46).

מקברות קלב בן אליהו אפנדופולו הקראי (XXIV — 1952-1953).

### BERTHOLET, ALFRED

Parallelen der Religionsgeschichte (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### BETTAN, ISRAEL

Early Reform in Contemporaneous Responses (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

The Sermons of Judah Muscato (VI — 1929).

The Sermons of Azariah Figo (VII — 1930).

The Sermons of Ephraim Luntshitz (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

The Sermons of Jonathan Eybeshitz (X — 1935).

The Sermons of Jacob Anatoli (XI — 1936).

The Sermons of Isaac Arama (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

The Dubno Maggid (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### BLANK, SHELDON H.

The Septuagint Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law (VII — 1930).

A Hebrew Bible Ms. in the Hebrew Union College Library (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

Studies in Post-Exilic Universalism (XI — 1936).

The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

Studies in Deutero-Isaiah (XV — 1940).

The Dissident Laity in Early Judaism (XIX — 1945-46).

The Confessions of Jeremiah and the Meaning of Prayer (XXI — 1948).

The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell, and the Oath (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

Isaiah 52.5 and the Profanation of the Name (XXV — 1954).

"Doest Thou Well To Be Angry?" (XXVI — 1955).

Traces of Prophetic Agony in Isaiah (XXVII — 1956).

### BLAU, JOSEPH L.

An American-Jewish View of the Evolution Controversy (XX — 1947).



## INDEX

### BLAU, LUDWIG

Early Christian Epigraphy Considered from the Jewish Point of View (I — 1924).

Early Christian Archaeology from the Jewish Point of View (III — 1926).

### BLOOMHARDT, PAUL F.

The Poems of Haggai (V — 1928).

### BLUMENFIELD, SAMUEL M.

Towards a Study of Maimonides, the Educator (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### BOKSER, BEN ZION

Reason and Revelation in the Theology of Maimonides (XX — 1947).

### BUTTENWIESER, MOSES

The Importance of the Tenses for the Interpretation of Psalms (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

The Character and Date of Ezekiel's Prophecies (VII — 1930).

### CHAPMAN, WILLIAM JOHN

The Problem of Inconsequent Post-Dating in II Kings XV.13, 17, and 23 (II — 1925).

Palestinian Chronological Data, 750-700 B. C. (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

### COHON, SAMUEL S.

Palestine in Jewish Theology (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

Authority in Judaism (XI — 1936).

Original Sin (XXI — 1948).

The Name of God, a Study in Rabbinic Theology (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

The Unity of God, A Study in Hellenistic and Rabbinic Theology (XXVI — 1955).

### CRONBACH, ABRAHAM

The Social Implications of Prayer (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

Divine Help as a Social Phenomenon (V — 1928).

The Psychoanalytic Study of Judaism (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

The *Me'il Zedakah* (XI — 1936).

The *Me'il Zedakah* — Second Article (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

The *Me'il Zedakah* — Third Article (XIV — 1939).

The Gradations of Benevolence (XVI — 1941).

The Social Ideals of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha (XVIII — 1944).

New Studies in the Psychology of Judaism (XIX — 1945-46).

The Maimonidean Code of Benevolence (XX — 1947).

Social Thinking in the *Sefer Hasidim* (XXII — 1949).

Social Action in Jewish Lithuania (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

## INDEX

### DAUBE, DAVID

Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric (XXII — 1949).

### DAVIDSON, ISRAEL

A Note to: "Moses Ibn Ghikitilla as Poet" by Samuel Poznanski (I — 1924).

A Didactic Poem of Şahlal b. Netanel Gaon (III — 1926).

A New Supplement to the "Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry" (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

### DEIMEL, P. A.

Die Bedeutung der Vorsargonischen Wirtschaftstexte für die Sumerische Sprache und Kultur (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

Wie Steht Es Heute Um das Problem der Sumer. Verbalpräfixe MU, E- (I-) ? (XXV — 1954).

### DIESENDRUCK, ZEVI

Die Teleologie bei Maimonides (V — 1928).

Samuel and Moses Ibn Tibbon on Maimonides' Theory of Providence (XI — 1936).

On the Date of the Completion of the *Moreh Nebukim* (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

### DUKER, ABRAHAM G.

"Evreiskaia Starina" — a Bibliography of the Russian-Jewish Historical Periodical (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

### DUSSAUD, RENÉ

Du Problème Littéraire au Problème Religieux (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### EINSTEIN, ALFRED

Salome Rossi as Composer of Madrigals (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### EITAN, ISRAEL

A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

Biblical Studies (XIV — 1939).

### ELBOGEN, I.

Destruction or Construction? (I — 1924).

Ḳalir Studies (III — 1926).

Ḳalir Studien (IV — 1927).

### ENELOW, HYMAN G.

*Midrash Hashkem* Quotations in Alnaqua's *Menorat Ha-Maor* (IV — 1927).

## INDEX

### ENGLANDER, HENRY

- The Men of the Great Synagogue (Jubilee — Special, 1925).  
Mendelssohn as Translator and Exegete (VI — 1929).  
Rashi's View of the Weak ע"ע and פ"ן Roots (VII — 1930).  
Grammatical Elements and Terminology in Rashi's Biblical Commentaries (XI — 1936).  
Grammatical Elements and Terminology in Rashi's Commentaries, Part II — Rashi's Vowel Terminology (XII–XIII — 1937–38).  
Grammatical Elements and Terminology in Rashi (XIV — 1939).  
Rabbenu Jacob ben Meir Tam as Grammarian (XV — 1940).  
Joseph Kara's Commentary on Micah in Relation to Rashi's Commentary (XVI — 1941).  
A Commentary on Rashi's Grammatical Comments (XVII — 1942–43).

### EPSTEIN, J. N.

- משנת רבי אליעזר (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

### ESTERSON, SIDNEY I.

- The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms 42–72 (X — 1935).

### FEIGIN, SAMUEL I.

- Haggārīm*, "The Castrated One" (XXI — 1948).

### FINE, HILLEL A.

- Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion, Part I (XXIV — 1952–1953).  
Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion, Part II (XXV — 1954).

### FINESINGER, SOL B.

- Musical Instruments in the Old Testament (III — 1926).  
The Shofar (VIII–IX — 1931–32).  
The Custom of Looking at the Fingernails at the Outgoing of the Sabbath (XII–XIII — 1937–38).

### FINK, ELIAS

- Schriftgeschichtliche Beobachtungen an den beiden Griechischen Buchstaben Γ und X deren sich der Talmud zur Bezeichnung von Gestalten bedient (X — 1935).

### FINKEL, JOSHUA

- An Arabic Story of Abraham (XII–XIII — 1937–38).  
A Mathematical Conundrum in the Ugaritic Keret Poem (XXVI — 1955).

### FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS

- The Transmission of Early Rabbinic Tradition (XVI — 1941).  
The Prophetic Readings According to the Palestinian, Byzantine, and Karaite Rites (XVII — 1942–43).  
The Origin of the Hallel (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

## INDEX

### FISCHEL, HEINZ

Die Deuteroseaianischen Gottesknechtslieder in der Juedischen Auslegung (XVIII — 1944).

### FREEHOF, SOLOMON B.

The Origin of the Tahnanun (II — 1925).

The Structure of the Birchos Hashachar (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### FRIEDMAN, LEE M.

The First Printed Picture of a Jew (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### FRIEDMANN, MEIR

Mitwirkung von Frauen beim Gottesdienste (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

### FRIES-HOREB, JEHUDAH

הערות והגהות בפירוש הרד"ק לתהלים (מהדורת י"א אסתרסון, HUCA כרך X, (443-310 'ע) (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

### GANDZ, SOLOMON

The Astrolabe in Jewish Literature (IV — 1927).

Studies in History of Mathematics from Hebrew and Arabic Sources (VI — 1929).

### GASTER, MOSES

Eliezer Crescas and his *Bet Zebul*, the Bible References in Talmud and Midrash (VI — 1929).

### GAVIN, F.

Rabbinic Parallels in Early Church Orders (VI — 1929).

### GINSBERG, H. L.

Some Emendations in Psalms (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### GINSBURGER, M.

Bendel Ahrweiler (IV — 1927).

L'Exégèse Biblique des Juifs d'Allemagne au Moyen Age (VII — 1930)  
Deux Pourims Locaux (X — 1935).

### GINZBERG, LOUIS

Religion of the Jews at the Time of Jesus (I — 1924).

הערות וביאורים לשירי איטליה וספרד (XV — 1940).

### GLASER, EDWARD

Invitation to Intolerance: A Study of Portuguese Sermons Preached at Autos-da-fé (XXVII — 1956).

## INDEX

### GLUECK, NELSON

The Boundaries of Edom (XI — 1936).

Some Biblical Sites in the Jordan Valley (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

### GOLDIN, JUDAH

The Two Versions of Abot de Rabbi Nathan (XIX — 1945–46).

### GOODENOUGH, EDWIN R.

The Menorah Among Jews in the Roman World (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

### GORDIS, ROBERT

The Social Background of Wisdom Literature (XVIII — 1944).

Quotations as a Literary Usage in Biblical, Oriental and Rabbinic Literature (XXII — 1949).

Hosea's Marriage and Message: A New Approach (XXV — 1954).

### GORDON, CYRUS H.

Belt-wrestling in the Bible World (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

Homer and Bible, The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature (XXVI — 1955).

### GOTTHEIL, RICHARD J. H.

An Unknown Hebrew Version of the Sayings of Aesop (V — 1928).

Supplement to "An Unknown Hebrew Version of the Sayings of Aesop," Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. V, pp. 315–352 (VI — 1929).

### GRAYZEL, SOLOMON

References to the Jews in the Correspondence of John XXII (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

### GRINSTEIN, HYMAN B.

The Minute Book of Lilienthal's Union of German Synagogues in New York (XVIII — 1944).

### GUTTMAN, MICHAEL

The Decisions of Maimonides in his Commentary on the Mishna (II — 1925).

The Term "Foreigner" (נכרי) Historically Considered (III — 1926).

### GUTTMANN, ALEXANDER

The Problem of the Anonymous Mishna (XVI — 1941).

Akiba, "Rescuer of the Torah" (XVII — 1942–43).

The Significance of Miracles for Talmudic Judaism (XX — 1947).

Foundations of Rabbinic Judaism (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

The Patriarch Judah I — His Birth and His Death (XXV — 1954).

## INDEX

### HEINEMANN, ISAAC

Die Lehre vom Ungeschriebenen Gesetz im Jüdischen Schrifttum (IV — 1927).

Die Wissenschaftliche Allegoristic des Jüdischen Mittelalters (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### HEINEMANN, JOSEPH

The Status of the Labourer in Jewish Law and Society in the Tannaitic Period (XXV — 1954).

### HELLER, BERNHARD

"Gott wünscht das Herz": Legenden über einfältige Andacht und über Gefährten im Paradies (IV — 1927).

### HESCHEL, ABRAHAM

Das Wesen der Dinge nach der Lehre Gabirols (XIV — 1939).

ר' גרשון קוטובר (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### HONOR, LEO L.

Educating Teaching Personnel for Jewish Schools (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### HOROVITZ, JOSEPH

Jewish Proper Names and Derivations in the Koran (II — 1925).

### HUSIK, ISAAC

The Law of Nature, Hugo Grotius, and the Bible (II — 1925).

### IDELSOHN, A. Z.

Songs and Singers of the Synagogue in the Eighteenth Century (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

The *Kol Nidre* Tune (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

Traditional Songs of the German (*Tedesco*) Jews in Italy (XI — 1936).

The *Mogen-Ovos*-Mode (XIV — 1939).

### ITALIENER, BRUNO

The Mussaf-Kedushah (XXVI — 1955).

### KADUSHIN, MAX

Aspects of the Rabbinic Concept of Israel, A Study in the Mekilta (XIX — 1945-46).

### KAHANA, ABRAHAM

Two Letters from Abraham Firkovich (III — 1926).

### KAHLE, PAUL

The Mishnah Text in Babylonia, II (XII-XIII — 1937-38).



## INDEX

KAHLE, PAUL and WEINBERG, T.

The Mishna Text in Babylonia, Fragments from the Geniza (X — 1935).

KAMINKA, A.

Septuaginta und Targum zu Proverbia (VIII–IX — 1931–32).

Die Mystischen Ideen des R. Simon Ben Johai (X — 1935).

KAYSER, STEPHEN S.

A Polish Torah Crown (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

KISCH, GUIDO

Studien zur Geschichte des Judeneids im Mittelalter (XIV — 1939).

Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum, Prolegomena to the New Edition (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

KLEIN, SAMUEL

Das Tannaitische Grenzverzeichnis Palästinas (V — 1928).

KOEHLER, LUDWIG

Bemerkungen zur Schreibung und Aussprache der Tiberischen Masora (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

KOHLER, KAUFMANN

The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions (I — 1924).

The Hebrew Union College of Yesterday and a Great Desideratum in its Curriculum Today (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

KORN, BERTRAM W.

Isaac Mayer Wise On the Civil War (XX — 1947).

Rabbis, Prayers, and Legislatures (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

KRAUSS, SAMUEL

Service Tree in Bible and Talmud and in Modern Palestine (I — 1924).

Sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Texte des Sepher Ma'asijoth, ed. Gaster (IV — 1927).

Zu Dr. Mann's Neuen Historischen Texten (X — 1935).

Nachbemerkung (to the controversy with Dr. Mann) (X — 1935).

Some Remarks on Daniel 8.5 (XV — 1940).

The Jewish Rite of Covering the Head (XIX — 1945–46).

LAMBERT, M.

A Study of the First Chapter of Genesis (I — 1924).

LANDSBERGER, FRANZ

The Cincinnati Haggadah and Its Decorator (XV — 1940).

Jewish Artists Before the Period of Emancipation (XVI — 1941).

New Studies in Early Jewish Artists (XVIII — 1944).

Old-Time Torah-Curtains (XIX — 1945–46).

## INDEX

- The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art (XX — 1947).  
The Washington Haggadah and Its Illuminator (XXI — 1948).  
The House of the People (XXII — 1949).  
The Second Cincinnati Haggadah (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).  
The Origin of European Torah Decorations (XXIV — 1952-1953).  
Old Hanukkah Lamps (XXV — 1954).  
Illuminated Marriage Contracts, With Special Reference to the Cincinnati Ketubahs (XXVI — 1955).  
The Origin of Ritual Implements for the Sabbath (XXVII — 1956).

### LAUTERBACH, JACOB Z.

- The Arrangement and the Division of the Mekilta (I — 1924).  
The Ceremony of Breaking a Glass at Weddings (II — 1925).  
The Names of the Rabbinical Schools and Assemblies in Babylon (Jubilee — Special, 1925).  
A Significant Controversy between the Sadducees and the Pharisees (IV — 1927).  
The Pharisees and Their Teachings (VI — 1929).  
*Tashlik*, A Study in Jewish Ceremonies (XI — 1936).  
The Belief in the Power of the Word (XIV — 1939).  
The Origin and Development of Two Sabbath Ceremonies (XV — 1940).

### LEON, H. J.

- The Jewish Catacombs and Inscriptions of Rome (V — 1928).

### LESTSCHINSKY, JACOB

- די עקאנאמישע אנטוויקלונג פון אידנטום אין גאליציע און בוקאוינא (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### LÉVY, ISIDORE

- Ptolémée Lathyre et les Juifs (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### LEWKOWITZ, ALBERT

- Die Bibel und die Juedische Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart (IV — 1927).

### LEWY, HILDEGARD and LEWY, JULIUS

- The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar (XVII — 1942-43).

### LEWY, IMMANUEL

- The Two Strata of the Eden Story (XXVII — 1956).

### LEWY, JULIUS

- Lexicographical Notes (XII-XIII — 1937-38).  
The Feast of the 14th Day of Adar (XIV — 1939).  
Ḥābirū and Hebrews (XIV — 1939).  
A New Parallel between Ḥābirū and Hebrews (XV — 1940).  
The Old West Semitic Sun God Ḥammu (XVIII — 1944).

## INDEX

The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus (XIX — 1945-46).

Tabor, Tibar, Atabyros (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

The Problems Inherent in Section 70 of the Bisutun Inscription (XXV — 1954).

On Some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire (XXVII — 1956).

### LEWY, JULIUS and LEWY, HILDEGARD

The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar (XVII — 1942-43).

### LICHTENSTEIN, HANS

Die Fastenrolle, eine Untersuchung zur Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Geschichte (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

### LIEBREICH, LEON J.

The Benedictory Formula in the Targum to the Song of Songs (XVIII — 1944).

An Analysis of *U-ba' Le-Ziyyon* in the Liturgy (XXI — 1948).

The Position of Chapter Six in the Book of Isaiah (XXV — 1954).

Psalms 34 and 145 in the Light of their Key Words (XXVII — 1956).

### LOEWE, RAPHAEL

Jerome's Rendering of עולם (XXII — 1949).

### LOEWINGER, SAMUEL

Gaonic Interpretation of the Tractates Giṭṭin and Ḳiddushin (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### LÖW, IMMANUEL

Hā-'iddānā (XI — 1936).

### MAISLER, B.

Beth She'arim, Gaba, and Harosheth of the Peoples (XXIV — 1952-1953).

### MANN, JACOB

Rabbinic Studies in the Synoptic Gospels (I — 1924).

Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service (II — 1925).

Gaonic Studies (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

A Second Supplement to "The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs" (III — 1926).

Additional Note to Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume (III — 1926).

Additional Note to Toledano's Article (IV — 1927).

Rejoinder (to Samuel Krauss) (X — 1935).

Final Word to Krauss' "Nachbemerkung" HUCA, X, 307-308 (XI — 1936).

An Early Theologico-Polemical Work (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

Some Midrashic Genizah Fragments (XIV — 1939).

A Commentary on the Pentateuch à la Rashi's (XV — 1940).

## INDEX

### MARCUS, JACOB RADER

- Notes on Sephardic Jewish History of the Sixteenth Century (Jubilee — Special, 1925).
- The Love Letters of Bendet Schottlaender (VII — 1930).
- The Triesch Hebra Kaddisha, 1687–1828 (XIX — 1945–46).
- The Modern Religion of Moses Hart (XX — 1947).

### MARCUS, RALPH

- A 16th Century Hebrew Critique of Philo (XXI — 1948).
- On Biblical Hypostases of Wisdom (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

### MARMORSTEIN, A.

- The Unity of God in Rabbinic Literature (I — 1924).
- The Background of the Haggadah (VI — 1929).
- Judaism and Christianity in the Middle of the Third Century (X — 1935).

### MARX, ALEXANDER

- Glimpses of the Life of an Italian Rabbi of the Sixteenth Century (I — 1924).
- The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology (III — 1926).
- Gabirol's Authorship of the "Choice of Pearls" and the Two Versions of Joseph Ḳimḥi's "*Sheḳel Haḳodesh*" (IV — 1927).
- Additions and Corrections to "The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology." (IV — 1927).

### MARX, MOSES

- Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino's Wander-Years in Italy, 1498–1527, Exemplar Judaicae Vitae (XI — 1936).

### MEEK, THEOPHILE J.

- Some Passages Bearing on the Date of Second Isaiah (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

### MESNIL du BUISSON, Comte du

- Les Dieux et Les Déesses en Forme de Vase Dans L'Antiquité Orientale (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

### MIHALY, EUGENE

- Isaac Abravanel on the Principles of Faith (XXVI — 1955).

### MILLÁS-VALLICROSA, JOSÉ M.

- La Obra Enciclopédica Yēsodé Ha-Tēbuná w-Migdal Ha-ēmuná de R. Abraham bar Ḥiyyah Ha-Bargeloni (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

### MORGENSTERN, JULIAN

- The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel (I — 1924).
- Moses With the Shining Face (II — 1925).
- Trial by Ordeal Among the Semites and in Ancient Israel (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

## INDEX

- Additional Notes on "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel" (III — 1926).  
The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch (IV — 1927).  
The Book of the Covenant (V — 1928).  
The Gates of Righteousness (VI — 1929).  
The Book of the Covenant, Part II (VII — 1930).  
The Book of the Covenant, Part III — The *Huqqim* (VIII-IX — 1931-32).  
Addenda to "The Book of the Covenant, Part III — The *Huqqim*," above pp. 1-150 (VIII-IX — 1931-32).  
Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel (X — 1935).  
Amos Studies I (XI — 1936).  
Amos Studies II — The Sin of Uzziah, the Festival of Jerobeam, and the Date of Amos (XII-XIII — 1937-38).  
The Mythological Background of Psalm 82 (XIV — 1939).  
The Historical Antecedents of Amos (XV — 1940).  
Psalm 48 (XVI — 1941).  
The Ark, the Ephod, and the Tent of Meeting, Part I (XVII — 1942-43).  
The Ark, the Ephod, and the Tent of Meeting, Part II (XVIII — 1944).  
Psalms 8 and 19A (XIX — 1945-46).  
The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel (XX — 1947).  
The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel (XXI — 1948).  
Two Prophecies from 520-516 B. C. (XXII — 1949).  
Isaiah 63.7-4 (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).  
Two Prophecies of the Fourth Century B. C. and the Evolution of Yom Kippur (XXIV — 1952-1953).  
The Loss of Words at the Ends of Lines in Manuscripts of Hebrew Poetry (XXV — 1954).  
The Decalogue of the Holiness Code (XXVI — 1955).  
Jerusalem — 485 B. C. (XXVII — 1956).

### MOWINCKEL, SIGMUND

- Traditionalism and Personality in the Psalms (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### NEMOY, LEON

- Al-Qirqisānī's Account of Jewish Sects and Christianity (VII — 1930).

### NEUFELD, E.

- The Prohibitions against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws (XXVI — 1955).

### NEUGEBAUER, O.

- The Astronomy of Maimonides and its Sources (XXII — 1949).

### NEUMAN, ABRAHAM A.

- A Note on John the Baptist and Jesus in Josippon (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

## INDEX

### NEUMARK, DAVID

Saadya's Philosophy (I — 1924).

The Philosophy of Judaism and How It Should Be Taught (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

### OBBINK, H. TH.

The Forms of Prophetism (XIV — 1939).

### OBERMANN, JULIAN

Two Elijah Stories in Judeo-Arabic Transmission (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### OLMSTEAD, O. T.

The Chaldean Dynasty (II — 1925).

### ORLINSKY, HARRY M.

The Biblical Prepositions *Táhat*, *Bén*, *Bá'ad*, and Pronouns '*Anu* (or '*Anu*), *Zo'tah* (XVII — 1942-43).

Studies in Talmudic Philology (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll (XXV — 1954).

The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Isaiah (XXVII — 1956).

### PATAI, RAPHAEL

The "Control of Rain" in Ancient Palestine (XIV — 1939).

Hebrew Installation Rites (XX — 1947).

### PHILIPSON, DAVID

Some Unpublished Letters of Theological Importance (II — 1925).

The History of the Hebrew Union College (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

Personal Contacts with the Founder of the Hebrew Union College (XI — 1936).

Max Lillenthal in Russia (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

### PLAUT, GUENTHER

Two Notes on the History of the Jews in America (XIV — 1939).

The Origin of the Word "Yarmulke" (XXVI — 1955).

### POHL, ALFRED

Die Klage Marduks Ueber Babylon im Irra-Epos (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### POPPER, WILLIAM

A Suggestion as to the Sequence of Some Prophecies in the First Isaiah (I — 1924).

Notes on Parallelism (II — 1925).

### POZNANSKI, SAMUEL

Moses Ibn Ghiquitilla as Poet (I — 1924).



## INDEX

### RATZABY, YEHUDAH

מלואים לקטע ממדרש אלמוני על דברים (XXV — 1954).

### RAWIDOWICZ, SIMON

War Nachman Krochmal Hegelianer? (V — 1928).

### REIDER, JOSEPH

Studies in Hebrew Roots and Their Etymology (II — 1925).

Negative Tendencies in Modern Hebrew Literature (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

Some Notes on the Text of Scriptures (III — 1926).

The Present State of Textual Criticism of the Old Testament (VII — 1930).

The Etymology of Hebrew *mûl* or *môl* and its Bearing on *tmôl* and *'et-môl* (XII–XIII — 1937–38).

Contributions to the Scriptural Text (XXIV — 1952–1953).

### RIVKIN, ELLIS

The Sermons of Leon da Modena (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

### ROSENAU, WILLIAM

Ezekiel 37:15–28, What Happened to the Ten Tribes (Jubilee — Special 1925).

### ROSENTHAL, FRANZ

A Judaeo-Arabic Work Under Sufi Influence (XV — 1940).

Yom Tob (XVIII — 1944).

A Jewish Philosopher of the Tenth Century (XXI — 1948).

Sedâḳâ, Charity (XXIII, Part One — 1950–1951).

### ROSENTHAL, JUDAH

שאלות עתיקות בתנך (XXI — 1948).

### ROTENSTREICH, NATHAN

פרקים בפולמוס האמנציפציה (XXV — 1954).

### ROTH, ABRAHAM NAPHTALI ZEVI

ספר הלכות מליו ולוה המיוחס בטעות לזכריה פולייסי (XXVI — 1955).

### ROTH, CECIL

The Memoirs of a Siennese Jew (V — 1928).

Some Revolutionary Purims (1790–1801) (X — 1935).

Supplement to "Some Revolutionary Purims" HUCA, X, 1935, pp. 351–482 (XII–XIII — 1937–38).

New Notes on Pre-Emancipation Jewish Artists (XVII — 1942–43).

The Strange Case of Hector Mendez Bravo (XVIII — 1944).

European Jewry in the Dark Ages, a Revised Picture (XXIII, Part Two — 1950–1951).

## INDEX

ROWLEY, H. H.

Jewish Proselyte Baptism (XV — 1940).

The Unity of the Book of Daniel (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

RYCKMANS, G.

La Sacrifice  $\overline{DBH}$  Dans Les Inscriptions Șafaitiques (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

SANDMEL, SAMUEL

Philo's Place in Judaism, Part I (XXV — 1954).

Philo's Place in Judaism, Part II (XXVI — 1955).

Myths, Genealogies, and Jewish Myths and the Writing of Gospels (XXVII — 1956).

SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER

The Rabbanite Prayer Book Quoted by Qirqisani (XXII — 1949).

Qalir's Qina from the Kaufmann Geniza (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

Unknown Leaves from שאלות עתיקות (XXVII — 1956).

SCHOEPS, HANS JOACHIM

Simon Magus in der Haggadah? (XXI — 1948).

SCHWARTZMAN, SYLVAN D.

How Well Did the Synoptic Evangelists Know the Synagogue? (XXIV — 1952-1953).

SCHWARZSCHILD, STEVEN S.

The Democratic Socialism of Hermann Cohen (XXVII — 1956).

SHULVASS, MOSES A.

סיפור הערות שעברו באיטליה (XXII — 1949).

SILBERMAN, LOU H.

The Sefirah Season (XXII — 1949).

SILBERNER, EDMUND

Ferdinand Lassalle: From Maccabeism to Jewish Antisemitism (XXIV — 1952-1953).

SLONIMSKY, HENRY

The Philosophy Implicit in the Midrash (XXVII — 1956).

SONNE, ISAIAH

לבקורת הטכסט של פירוש רש"י על התורה (XV — 1940).

לתולדות קהלות בולונייה בתחלת המאה הט"ז (XVI — 1941).

An Unknown Keroḇa of Jannai (XVIII — 1944).

The Second Psalm (XIX — 1945-46).

The Paintings of the Dura Synagogue (XX — 1947).

## INDEX

Leon Modena and the Da Costa Circle in Amsterdam (XXI — 1948).

פרקים ממסכת גירושין (XXII — 1949).

A Hymn Against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

SONNE, ISAIAH and WERNER, ERIC

The Philosophy and Theory of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature (XVI — 1941).

The Philosophy and Theory of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature (Second Installment) (XVII — 1942-43).

SPEISER, E. A.

The Sumerian Problem Reviewed (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

SPERBER, ALEXANDER

Hebrew Based on Greek and Latin Transliterations (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

Hebrew Based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission (XIV—1939).

Hebrew Phonology (XVI — 1941).

Problems of the Masora (XVII — 1942-43).

SPICEHANDLER, EZRA

דינא דמניכא and בי דואר, Notes on Gentile Courts in Talmudic Babylonia (XXVI — 1955).

STEIN, EDMUND

Die Homiletische Peroration im Midrasch (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

SUKENIK, E. L.

The Mosaic Inscriptions in the Synagogue at Apamea on the Orontes (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

TAEUBLER, EUGEN

Kharu, Horim, Dedanim (I — 1924).

Cushan-Rishathaim (XX — 1947).

TAEUBLER, SELMA STERN

Der Literarische Kampf um die Emanzipation in den Jahren 1816-1820 und seine Ideologischen und Soziologischen Voraussetzungen (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

TARTAKOWER, ARIEH

Fundamental Problems of Jewish Demography Today (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

TOLEDANO, JACOB MOSES

תעודות מכתבייד (IV — 1927).

מכתבייד (V — 1928).

היהודים בטאניד (VIII-IX — 1931-32).

בתי הכנסיות העתיקים באלכסנדריה וסביבותיה (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

## INDEX

TORCZYNER, HARRY

The Riddle in the Bible (I — 1924).

TORREY, CHARLES C.

Notes on the "Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite" (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

TSEVAT, MATITIAHU

Some Biblical Notes (XXIV — 1952-1953).

VAJDA, GEORGES

Jeûne Musulman et Jeûne Juif (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

VOGELSTEIN, HERMANN

The Development of the Apostolate in Judaism and its Transformation in Christianity (II — 1925).

VOGELSTEIN, MAX

Nebuchadnezzar's Reconquest of Phoenicia and Palestine and the Oracles of Ezekiel (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

WALLACH, LUITPOLD

A Palestinian Polemic Against Idolatry (XIX — 1945-46).

WEINBERG, T. and KAHLE, P.

The Mishna Text in Babylonia, Fragments from the Geniza (X — 1935).

WEINRYB, BERNARD D.

Beitraege zur Finanzgeschichte der Juedischen Gemeinden in Polen (XVI — 1941).

American Jewish Historiography (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

WEISS, ABRAHAM

לחקר הספרותי של משנה (XVI — 1941).

WERNER, ERIC

Preliminary Notes for a Comparative Study of Catholic and Jewish Musical Punctuation (XV — 1940).

Manuscripts of Jewish Music in the Eduard Birnbaum Collection (XVIII — 1944).

The Doxology in Synagogue and Church, a Liturgico-Musical Study (XIX — 1945-46).

The Conflict between Hellenism and Judaism in the Music of the Early Christian Church (XX — 1947).

The Origin of the Eight Modes of Music (XXI — 1948).

Oriental Christian and Hebrew Metrical Hymns (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

## INDEX

The Origin of Psalmody (XXV — 1954).

New Light on the Family of Felix Mendelssohn (XXVI — 1955).

### WERNER, ERIC and SONNE, ISAIAH

The Philosophy and Theory of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature (XVI — 1941).

The Philosophy and Theory of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature (Second Installment) (XVII — 1942-43).

### WIENER, MAX

John Toland and Judaism (XVI — 1941).

Aufriss einer Juedischen Theologie (XVIII — 1944).

Judah Halevi's Concept of Religion and a Modern Counterpart (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### WIESENBERG, ERNEST

Related Prohibitions: Swine Breeding and the Study of Greek (XXVII — 1956).

### WILENSKY, MICHAEL

R. Moseh al-Roṭi (אלר״ט) (XI — 1936).

About Manuscripts (XII-XIII — 1937-38).

מתוך כתבי יד (XIV — 1939).

Additions and Corrections (XVI — 1941).

מתוך כתבי יד (XVIII — 1944).

An Interpretation of an Obscure Expression in Medieval Poetry (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### WISCHNITZER, MARK

Note to a History of Jewish Guilds (XXIII, Part Two — 1950-1951).

### WOLFENSON, L. B.

Implications of the Place of the Book of Ruth in Editions, Manuscripts, and Canon of the Old Testament (I — 1924).

### WOLFSON, HARRY A.

Notes on Proofs of the Existence of God in Jewish Philosophy (I — 1924).  
The Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy (Jubilee — Special, 1925).

Additional Notes to the Article on the Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy (III — 1926).

Averroes' Lost Treatise on the Prime Mover (XXIII, Part One — 1950-1951).

### ZEITLIN, SOLOMON

The Halaka in the Gospels and its Relation to the Jewish Law at the Time of Jesus (I — 1924).

## INDEX

Volume I, 639 pages, (out of print)  
Volume II, 433 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume III, 375 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume IV, 494 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Volume V, 620 pages, bound, \$4.50  
Volume VI, 350 pages, bound, \$4.50  
Volume VII, 577 pages, bound, \$4.50  
Volume VIII-IX, 746 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Volume X, 597 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XI, 649 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XII-XIII, 839 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XIV, 623 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XV, 614 pages (out of print)  
Volume XVI, 653 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XVII, 602 pages, (out of print)  
Volume XVIII, 545 pages, (out of print)  
Volume XIX, 614 pages, (out of print)  
Volume XX, 674 pages, (out of print)  
Volume XXI, 601 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XXII, 490 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Volume XXIII, Part One, 710 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Volume XXIII, Part Two, 772 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Volume XXIV, 375 pages, unbound, \$4.50  
Volume XXV, 454 pages, (out of print)  
Volume XXVI, 668 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Volume XXVII, 536 pages, bound, \$5.00  
Jubilee Volume, 521 pages, (out of print)

Copies may be secured from the

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL  
3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati 20, Ohio  
U. S. A.







18280

BM

11

H/4

v.28

18280

Hebrew Union College  
Annual 1957

DATE DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

OC 30 '72

Muel Genberg

Hebrew...Annual..28

social study.

**LIBRARY  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL  
OF THEOLOGY  
CLAREMONT, CALIF.**



PRINTED IN U.S.A.

